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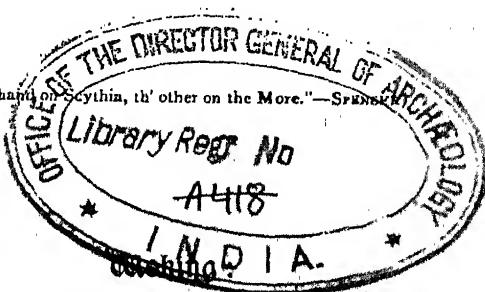


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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—Spenser



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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1911.

PROTECTION OR PREFERENCE—WHICH IS
THE BETTER POLICY FOR INDIA?

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

WHEN the experienced and sympathetic Finance Minister of India, Sir Fleetwood Wilson, introduced the Budget of 1910 into the Viceroy's Legislative Council at Calcutta, he was virtually forced to confess that the fiscal system of Cobdenite "Free Trade," which British prejudices have forced on a reluctant and disdainful India, had broken down. It had reached the end of its tether, for the Finance Minister, being compelled by the exigencies of the financial situation to impose fresh taxation, frankly admitted that he was utterly unable to devise any means of doing so in accordance with the principles of Free Trade unless he had recourse to the cruel and shameful expedient of increasing the Salt Tax, the Income Tax, or the Land Assessment.

The leading champion of Free Trade in the Council, Mr. Armstrong of Bombay—who is perhaps the only thorough-going Free Trader in India—boldly stated that he would prefer an increase of the Salt Tax to the proposals of the Government. But that tax, which has only recently been reduced, is a food-tax of the worst possible kind. It is admitted that it presses most cruelly on the very poorest classes, that it injures their health and induces evasion, and the fact that Free Trade necessitates its increase is in itself

a condemnation of the policy of Free Trade as applied to Indian conditions.

On the other hand, the Income Tax, owing to the universality of the Land Tax, is an impost that falls very largely on one class alone—the servants of the Government. Throughout the country it would be felt by them to be grossly unjust, and resented accordingly.

And as to the Free Trade suggestion—perhaps founded on British Free Traders' prejudices in England—that the land assessment ought to be increased throughout India, the proposal is an absurd one. Why, the pet grievance of all Indian grievance-mongers is the alleged severity with which the present assessments press on the poor raiyats, and compel them to have recourse to the money-lenders. Increased taxation of land may be a popularity in Limehouse where there are no landowners, but it is an impossible policy in India where the masses of the agricultural population eke out their livelihood by the cultivation of their own little patches of ground.

The objections to any increase of these Free Trade taxes being obvious, the Finance Minister had no option but to turn to other sources of revenue. In doing so I think it is probable that he found himself in this difficulty—that economic science and common sense pointed in one direction, and the fanatical prejudices of the Home Government in another. Of course, it must be admitted that the Secretary of State for India, representing the views of the existing majority in the Imperial Parliament, must in the last resort dominate the action of the Government of India, and, consequently, whatever may have been the wishes or convictions of that Government, the Finance Minister found himself absolutely precluded from adopting any measures that might seem to favour Tariff Reform. The net result of these considerations was an odd one. Cobdenism being impossible, and Tariff Reform forbidden, we find the Finance Minister turning to taxation of a distinctly Protectionist character. He placed a heavy, almost pro-

hibitive, Protectionist duty on tobacco and manufactures of tobacco (thereby mainly hitting the imports of cigarettes, to the value of about £300,000 a year from Bristol and Liverpool), and a considerable, though rather lighter, duty on petroleum, which is mainly imported from America and Russia. I need say nothing here about the tax on imports of silver, further than to observe that its economical effect is (1) to increase the capital value of the silver hoards of the Indian people, but also (2) to inflate still further the value of the rupee, and thereby to increase heavily the taxation on production, and to severely handicap the foreign export trade of India to silver-using countries, especially China and Japan.

The Finance Minister—to his credit be it said—frankly admitted the Protectionist character of the taxes on cigarettes. The Hon. Mr. Chitnavis quoted his striking phrase: “I think that *Swadeshi* is good, and if the outcome of the changes I have laid before the Council result in some encouragement of Indian industries, I for one shall not regret it.” And in the Calcutta debate of March 4 the Finance Minister distinctly stated that—

“The fact that a tax presents advantages other than the mere production of revenue, does not prove that the tax is a bad one.”

Here, then, the Finance Minister definitely throws overboard the Cobdenite doctrine of Free Trade, and declares openly for Protection.

I must note, in passing, that a scandalous attempt was made in the House of Commons—under pressure from Bristol, where large numbers of cigarette makers have been thrown out of employment by the Protective effect of the new Indian tobacco-tax—to pretend that the measure would be robbed of its Protective power, by the Government of India, imposing an excise duty on the Indian production of tobacco. It was distinctly stated by the Under-Secretary of State for India that such a measure was “under

consideration"—and I venture to call this electioneering pretence "scandalous," because there is not, there cannot be, a single member of the Secretary of State's Council, there is not a single intelligent person who has ever lived in India, who is not perfectly well aware that no such excise is even remotely possible, and that any attempt to enforce it would be simply disastrous. In the Calcutta debates every member of the Legislative Council protested against the ridiculous suggestion, and one honourable member denounced it as a project "sinister both in nature and origin."

And I must confess that the action of the Government, in passing a Protectionist cigarette duty in Calcutta, and then endeavouring to conceal its real nature in Bristol by vague promises of an impossible countervailing excise, is not only dishonest, it is absurdly futile, for the British cigarette makers must inevitably learn the truth in the long run. The manœuvre is precisely like that of the Liberal M.P.'s of the Indian National Congress Parliamentary Party, who in India advocate the abolition of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. excise duty on Indian cotton-goods without the abolition of the similar import duty on the import of Lancashire cotton-goods, while in Manchester and Nottingham they profess themselves to be out-and-out Free Traders! Some of these latter have already been found out and dismissed by their constituents—and with the rest, it can only be a matter of time.

It may be asked, Why should not Sir Fleetwood Wilson—seeing that he is forced by circumstances to abandon Free Trade principles in this year's Indian Budget—have frankly adopted the true alternative, an Imperial Preference Budget, and thereby have started a new era of prosperity for Indian industries, at the same time ending for ever the mischievous friction between British and Indian interests? A somewhat similar question was asked in the Budget debate of Calcutta—"Why the Finance Minister had not taxed the imports of dumped sugar from the Protectionist countries of

Europe and from Java?"—and the answer that was suggested by the non-official members of the Council was: "Probably pressure from the Free Trade Government at home!" It is, unfortunately, the fact that in England the leaders of the Liberal Party have insisted on treating Imperial Preference, whether in India or at home, as a violation of the sacred canons of Free Trade not less pernicious than Protection itself; and, indeed, persistent efforts have been made by some heated partisans to confuse the issue by pretending that, in regard to the fiscal policy of the Indian Government, the Tariff Reform policy of Imperial Preference is, in some occult way, identical with Indian Protection.

As a matter of fact—and every well-trained student of economics who is acquainted with the phenomena of Indian finance will agree with me—there is just as wide a difference between Indian Tariff Reformers and Indian Protectionists on the one side as there is between Indian Tariff Reformers and Indian Free Traders on the other. And the phenomena of the tobacco duty imposed by Sir Fleetwood Wilson this year furnish us with a crucial test of these differences as follows:

1. If the tobacco duty had been imposed on Free Trade principles it must have been accompanied by a countervailing excise duty of an equivalent amount on tobacco of Indian production.

2. If it had been imposed in accordance with Tariff Reform principles there would have been no countervailing excise duty on Indian tobacco, and all imports of British or Colonial tobacco would have been placed on the same footing as Indian tobacco, being equally "Imperial" goods, and have been free of duty.

3. But being imposed in accordance with Protectionist principles Indian tobacco alone is free, and British and Colonial tobacco is placed on the same footing as the protected and subsidized tobacco of foreign Protectionist countries, and is heavily taxed, thus giving

foreign tobacco the full benefit of all its protected and subsidized advantages, to the detriment both of British and of Indian trade.

Precisely the same conditions as those noted here for the Indian tobacco duty apply also to the Indian cotton duties and to all similar fiscal arrangements. It is admitted by all—Free Traders, Protectionists, and Tariff Reformers alike—that India needs import duties for revenue purposes, while both Protectionists and Tariff Reformers think she needs them for the protection of her own industries, and Tariff Reformers think that she (as well as Britain and the Colonies) needs them for the protection of Imperial trade.

Here, then, we have clearly marked and defined the difference between Protectionists and Tariff Reformers. The former—in India, and, by parity of reasoning, in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies—would confine in each State of the British Empire the protective advantages of its tariff to itself and its own citizens, regardless of any injury that such a policy might inflict on the sister States. The latter would aim at the protection of the Empire as a whole, and arrange, by a series of negotiations between each State and the rest of the Empire, such terms of mutual reciprocity as might benefit each without injuring any other, and thereby lead to “Free Trade” within the Empire and protection for all against “the inroads of alien industry.” In all such arrangements for mutual benefit and for common protection the condition presupposed is that there shall be a complete and absolutely equal and uniform system of give-and-take, each State obtaining the conditions most beneficial to its own trade and industry or (where that would be in any particular respect distinctly injurious to the others) obtaining sufficient and ample compensation in other respects.

The greatest of all Indian economists, the late Mr. Justice Ranade—who was the founder of the modern Indian school of economics—laid great stress, in his excellent lectures on the subject, on the many great and undeniable advantages

that India derives, even in present circumstances, from her partnership with England. Mr. McMinn proved very fully, in his paper read before the East India Association, that so long as India was under the rule of the Company, the Board of Directors, and subsequently the Board of Control—all whose interests were purely Indian—always secured highly favourable terms for Indian trade; and that the legends to the contrary were only founded on the mistaken statements of Mill and other writers, due largely to partisan acrimony. Mr. Justice Ranade pointed out that the prosperity India enjoys in the great expansion of her trade is entirely due to the *Pax Britannica*—that the power of England defends her frontiers from foreign aggression both on land and on sea, and secures her from internal disturbance. He showed that it is from England that India gets the cheap capital and the skilled specialist labour which she requires both for her industries and for her commerce, and she gets these indispensable requirements, not only more cheaply, but also in a more trustworthy form, by reason of the British connection, which also has rendered possible the enormous improvements that had been wrought in internal and external communications, and in other attributes and conveniences of modern civilization.

Now, Imperial Preference, arrived at in the fair and equal manner that has been proposed by British Tariff Reformers, will not only secure and draw closer these ties of mutual friendship and co-operation, but will do so on the terms and by the methods agreed upon between England and India, and not forced on India by England. Of the material advantages to be so obtained I will speak presently. But I am especially anxious, first of all, to make it clear that the mode by which the agreement is to be arrived at—which was first suggested by Mr. Chamberlain in his letter to Sir M. M. Bhownaggree of December 3, 1903, and has since been confirmed by Mr. Balfour and all responsible Tariff Reformers—places India in a more honourable position as a sovereign State, under the King-

Emperor, than she has hitherto occupied. For it is expressly stipulated (1) that India shall not be compelled to join the Imperial Fiscal Union unless satisfied that it is for her good; and (2) that the Government of India, if it elects to join the Union, will do so on precisely the same terms as England, Scotland, Ireland, and the self-governing colonies, and only subject, *like them*, to the general principle of "Freer Trade" within the Empire after mutual negotiations and concessions.

If one were to approach this great question from the cold and hard point of view of practical politics, the idea of the protection of India against England might be dismissed with the simple observation that it is absolutely impossible of attainment so long as both England and India are controlled by the Imperial Parliament. During the agitation of 1894-95 that convulsed Lancashire and Yorkshire and South-west Scotland after the imposition of the Indian cotton duties by Lord Elgin, it was conclusively proved—by Mr. W. Tattersall (now the leader of the Manchester Free Traders), by Mr. George Whiteley (subsequently the Chief Whip of the Liberal Party, and now Lord Mar-chamley), by Sir William Coddington and Sir W. H. Hornby (eminent members of the Lancashire Conservative Party), and by all the other experts concerned, as well as by Sir Henry Fowler (now Lord Wolverhampton, and formerly Liberal Secretary of State), and by Lord George Hamilton (for many years Conservative Secretary of State)—that Indian protection would mean ruin and starvation throughout Lancashire and South-west Scotland, and, indeed, throughout all the manufacturing districts of Great Britain. And this being so, it is absolutely inconceivable that any Indian Viceroy would ever propose, or any Secretary of State, whether Liberal or Conservative, would ever sanction, a measure so utterly cruel, mischievous, and unpatriotic. And if they did so, they would get short shrift from any House of Commons, absolutely regardless of party.

If the merits of the case from the point of view of Indian interests were as they have been stated by some Indian Protectionists and by the emotional idealists in England who have adopted their arguments, then, indeed, I should not despair of the ultimate result of an appeal to the British Parliament, notwithstanding the grave injury to the British masses that would be involved. But I shall show that the economical conditions are all in the other direction. And it must be remembered that in India those economical conditions are practically unknown—for the cause of Tariff Reform is there in its infancy, and the arguments of Indian economists have been directed, not against the beneficent results of Imperial Preference, but against the mischievous operation of the existing system of so-called “Free Trade.” And in Great Britain, too, the arguments of the emotional idealists who have advocated Indian Protection, as opposed to Preference, have been vitiated by fatal misconceptions of fact. A few Conservatives, like Mr. Richard Jebb, have been misled by exaggerated views of the mischief wrought in India by foolish Free Traders, and have rushed for redress of this to the other extreme of Protection. And a very large body of Liberal M.P.s, headed by Sir Charles Schwann, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Byles, Sir A. Mond, and the other members of the “Indian Parliamentary Committee,” have been content to follow in this matter the utterly illogical and unreasonable teaching of Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. Mr. Naoroji, when speaking in Calcutta as the accredited representative of Sir Charles Schwann and his colleagues—strangely regardless of the disastrous results of such a policy on Lancashire and Lanarkshire and other British industrial centres—plainly declared that Indian Protection against Lancashire is necessary, “because of the economical muddle in India.” And Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, speaking at the meeting of the East India Association on December 5, 1910, took up a similar illogical position. He said that he was a Free Trader in England (and so say Sir Charles Schwann and

Sir Henry Cotton!), but that he was a Protectionist in India; and as a Bengali he demanded Protection for India against Lancashire. And *India*, the little weekly paper that is edited in London for the Indian National Congress Party by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, the son of Sir Henry Cotton, and late the Free Trade candidate for Dulwich, takes very much the same illogical line—it attacks Tariff Reform in India because it is not Protection, and in England because it is Protection!

I come now to close quarters with the great question to be answered by all Indian patriots, whether of Indian or of English birth, Which fiscal system, looking at its actual economic results, is better for India : Imperial Preference or Protection ? Cobdenite Free Trade has been tried and found wanting—and these are the only alternatives.

Sir Fleetwood Wilson, in one of his speeches on the Indian Budget of 1910, struck the right key in the following eloquent sentence :

“ Personally it is my earnest desire, as it is my intention, to approach Indian finance from an Indian standpoint. But I should like to add that I can conceive nothing more unfortunate than any attempt to separate the common interests of England and India.”

From this, I think it is perfectly clear that Sir Fleetwood Wilson and Lord Minto, if they had been permitted by the Home Government to follow their own wishes, would never have imposed this crushing tax on British tobacco, that has caused such terrible distress and privation among the innocent cigarette-makers of Bristol and Liverpool. And the same fine and manly sentiment finds expression in all Mr. Justice Ranade’s “ Essays on Indian Economics,” notwithstanding his natural and justifiable prepossession in favour of Protection for Indian industries.

But I have already pointed out the utterly disastrous effect on the industries of England and Scotland, and on the condition of the British working-classes, that would

result from Indian Protection. So in this place I will only compare the effects on the material and moral welfare of India herself, of the rival policies of Protection and Preference respectively.

PROTECTION AND ITS RESULTS.

Let us assume for a moment that India elects to be excluded from the British Imperial Federation, and adopts Protection, not only against the protectionist foreigner, but also, against Britain and the Colonies. She proceeds to abolish the excise duty on the products of Indian cotton-mills, and maintains or increases the import duties on Lancashire and Scottish cottons.

It may at once be admitted that this will greatly increase the hold of the Bombay mills on the home cotton trade of India—it will enable them to charge higher prices, to increase their profits, and to largely extend the employment of mill-hands. I would be the last to underrate these advantages. For they are broadly of the same nature as those that will result from Preference, which, though smaller in this particular industry, will be spread over a far wider area.

But what will be the cost? In the existing development of the Indian industry, and for many years to come, in the absence of effective competition (except that which already exists in the hand-loom industry), one result will be an enormous increase in the cost of the clothing of the whole of the population of India.

Another result will be the crippling of the nascent industry for oversea export. That industry is already confronted by prohibitive tariffs in all the foreign countries of the world. Under the new conditions it would be confronted by similar barriers in the United Kingdom, in the self-governing Colonies, and in Hong-Kong, Ceylon, Mauritius, and other Crown Colonies. The exports of gunny-bags and other jute manufactures to the Colonies would be

crippled and the trade transferred to Dundee. The export of yarns and other cotton manufactures to the Far East and elsewhere would likewise suffer ; so would that of dressed hides and skins and similar partially-manufactured goods, of tea and coffee, of wheat, of tobacco, and so forth. Indian wheat, if handicapped by a duty of two shillings a quarter, would find it difficult to compete in the English market with Canadian and other colonial wheat. Indian tea could hardly compete with Ceylon and Natal if subject to an extra duty of fourpence per pound from which the latter would be free inside the Union. Shipping conditions might be made harder ; there would be severe competition with the tropical products of such Colonies (specially favoured within the Union) as the West Indies and Queensland. I have already spoken of the horrible friction that all this, and much more, would produce between India and the rest of the Empire. But I think I have said enough to cause loyal and patriotic Indians to entertain serious doubts as to whether Protection against the Empire would show any real advantage after balancing the pros and the cons.

PREFERENCE AND ITS RESULTS.

Next, on the other hand, let us assume that India takes her proper place in the Imperial Commercial Federation, only second in importance to the United Kingdom itself. After full and equal negotiations with each one of the other States of the Empire, she proceeds to adapt her existing tariff to the conditions of Imperial Preference, and she obtains reciprocal advantages in every one of the rich and progressive markets of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. I need not go at much length into the details, for a large number of most valuable and practical suggestions on the subject are offered by Mr. Leslie Moore in the remarkable and convincing paper read before the East India Association on December 5, which will, I presume, be published in the present number of this *Review*. I heartily

agree with every one of Mr. Leslie Moore's conclusions, and feel sure they will carry immense weight with every thoughtful student of Indian economics. It is amusing to note that the *Manchester Guardian*—which is far and away the most powerful and intelligent advocate of Cobdenite Free Trade that still survives in the Press of the United Kingdom—groans over this great and influential meeting of the most prominent Indians and Anglo-Indians now in London, because (these are its dolorous words) "Only one voice, and that the voice of a foreign gentleman speaking English imperfectly, was raised for Free Trade!" The foreign gentleman labouring under this disability is stated by *India* to be a Mr. C. Prochownick—and he stated that if India adopted Imperial Preference, "Continental nations which now bought Indian tea would retaliate by taking tea from Java." I venture, with all deference to Mr. Prochownick, to suggest that the British and Colonial market is a more important one to the Indian tea-industry than his Continental compatriots, and I might remind him that when, once before, we heard of a "Continental nation" (it was Russia) "retaliating" against Indian tea, the Russian purchases went up by leaps and bounds.

The silly talk about Continental retaliation is simply what Mr. Burchill and Lord Rosebery would stigmatize as "Fudge!" Every civilized nation—except ourselves, and India under our compulsion—taxes imports on a scientific system, and, as Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law, the then Finance Minister of India, pointed out in 1903, there is not a single Continental nation that can add a single point to its taxation of imports from India without severely injuring its own industries, for those imports are practically all food and raw material. Since 1903 Sir Edward Law, whose lamented death has been a sad blow to the cause of Indian Imperial Preference, has very frequently emphasized this point, which, indeed, is a very obvious one to those who have a first-hand knowledge of the general course of Indian commerce, and any acquaintance with modern scientific

tariffs. India is far stronger in this respect than any other commercial community. And further, when the United Kingdom, India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa; and all the Crown Colonies are firmly welded together in one great commercial and fiscal unit, armed with tariffs at all points, it will take a good deal of courage on the part of any one of Mr. Prochownick's Continental friends—or, for that matter, all of them put together—to challenge the Empire to a war of tariffs. And as to Mr. Prochownick's further blood-curdling suggestion that if India put an export duty on the export of raw jute, lac, and similar other Indian *monopolies* to countries outside the Empire, America might put an export duty on her raw cotton—which is not her monopoly, and is becoming less so every year—well, from the point of view of an economist, it is simply laughable. If America does not put an export duty on her raw cotton to please her New England manufacturers—and it would be absurd to do so—she will not do it for the *beauv' yeux* of Mr. Prochownick and his friends.

The abolition of the odious and inquisitorial excise duty, and the taxing of the dumped products of Japan and Germany and the other protected nations—while the relations between Indian and British cotton remain absolutely unchanged, for both will be equally free under Imperial Preference, as both are equally taxed under Free Trade—will open up a new era for the cotton industry of India, and the remission of the taxation on British and Indian cottons will appreciably reduce the cost of the clothing of every peasant in the land.

The exports of raw jute to foreign countries outside the Empire—including the re-exports from Great Britain—amount to considerably more than £10,000,000, out of a total export of £13,250,000; and those of lac to about £1,600,000 out of a total export of about £1,800,000. So greatly, under both these heads—as well as in most other raw materials—have British purchases from India shrivelled as compared with those of the foreigner! An extremely

moderate export duty on these two products alone—and one that would be freely paid by every purchasing nation, for they cannot do without them—would, when supplemented by the import duties on foreign dumped goods, far more than recoup the Indian revenues for the remission of the whole of the excise duties on Indian goods and the import duties on British goods. It would give the Calcutta and Dundee jute-mills absolute command of the Colonial market, and furnish a weapon for obtaining better fiscal treatment for Indian goods from every foreign Power. Mr. Leslie Moore has indicated a large number of other probable preferences that would stimulate Indian industry in every part of the land and increase the commerce of every Indian port. But I think I have said enough to show any candid and unprejudiced Indian that there is simply no comparison between the doubtful blessings of Protection and the very certain and assured benefits of Imperial Preference.

INDIA AND TARIFF REFORM.*

By R. A. LESLIE MOORE., I.C.S. RET.

FREE TRADERS are fond of asserting that no place has been, or can be, found in a scheme of Tariff Reform for the British Empire. They maintain that India could give nothing, could gain nothing, and might lose much, by establishing reciprocal preference in trade with the United Kingdom. One of the latest Free Trade pronouncements on this subject was made so lately as July 25, 1910, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Gibson Bowles.

This thorough-going Free Trader made the following remarks in the course of his speech on that occasion :

“ He did not think they had learned much—not even the faith preached by the original prophet, who left out India advisedly because no advantage could be gained from India. India was practically a Free Trade country, and had nothing to give in return for preference. Therefore India had not been brought in till now. If we gave preference to India, what were we to get in return? India had nothing to return, and that was why the original prophet of this crazy faith left India out of account.”

On the other hand, in a letter from the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 324, of

* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

October 22, 1903, paragraph 15, the following statements were made:

"We are not of opinion that India can expect very material advantages in the Imperial market by any measure which appears to be within the range of discussion. On the other hand, our honourable colleague may have underrated both the power of retaliation which foreign countries possess and also their readiness to use it. We cannot feel confident that the conditions and requirements of foreign industries have yet been ascertained with the precision and fulness necessary to make them a sufficiently broad and stable basis on which to rest a fiscal policy of very problematic value to India, whilst the consequences of failures might result in irreparable disaster."

Free Traders, therefore, look askance at the idea of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and India, whether they regard the subject from the British or the Indian point of view.

Yet no Tariff Reform scheme for the Empire could be lasting, even if it could be introduced, which left India out of account, for India exceeds in importance any other component part of the British Empire with the sole exception of Britain herself. Not only do her 300,000,000 of inhabitants form three-quarters of the total population of the Empire, but her trade with the United Kingdom exceeds that of any of the self-governing Dominions or Crown Colonies.

Thus, according to Mr. Chiozza Money's "Fiscal Dictionary" in 1907-08, India's total trade with the United Kingdom amounted to £87,000,000 sterling (imports 57,000,000 and exports 30,000,000) as against an Australian total of 60,000,000 and a Canadian total of 42,000,000. Moreover, India maintains the only regular army in the Empire outside the United Kingdom.

The importance of this fact will be recognized when it is recalled that it was a force of British troops from India that

saved the situation in Natal in the South African War, and that it was Indian troops who formed the bulk of the British forces in the last Chinese War.

If, then, Tariff Reform is to be adopted by the Empire, the inclusion of India in the scheme is a necessary factor.

I propose to suggest how this may be accomplished—accomplished, I submit, with less difficulty in the case of India than of any other part of the Empire outside the British Isles.

Free Traders frequently urge against that part of the scheme of Tariff Reform which consists in establishing preferential trading between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire, that if Britain makes a commercial concession to one colony or dependency, she must, as a matter of course, make a similar concession to every other colony and dependency.

Now this objection is theoretical only. I venture, on the contrary, to think that when Tariff Reform is introduced into the Empire, it will be introduced not wholesale but piecemeal. In other words, the United Kingdom will not establish a tariff to be applied to all the different parts of the Empire alike, but will make a separate bargain with each colony or dependency, and every bargain will be based on the interests of the United Kingdom and the colony or dependency with which it is made. So, too, the colonies and dependencies will bargain among themselves. For instance, a commercial agreement between Canada and the West Indies is now under discussion.

The effect of such a method of bargaining will be that each nation within the British Empire will aim at building up its own strength by considering its own interests before that of any other country whether inside the Empire or outside it, but will also aim at building up the strength of the Empire by preferring the interests of countries inside the Empire to those of countries outside it.

The present paper, then, deals with Tariff Reform as establishing preferential trades between the United Kingdom

and India, and suggests the lines on which a reciprocally beneficial bargain might be struck between them.

Free Traders often argue that though preferential trading may benefit particular classes of manufacturers and workmen, it will injure the general body of consumers by raising the cost of living.

This, they assert, will be effected by the increase in the price of imported foreign articles due to the imposition of extra import duties. It is further urged against preferential trading that it exposes to foreign retaliation the countries that prefer each other.

I venture, however, to think that neither of these objections is valid against the proposals I am about to submit.

Both Britain and India already levy import duties on certain classes of goods, whether imported from each other or from foreign countries. They can give each other preference not by raising these duties against foreigners, but by lowering them in the case of goods they import from each other.

This method of procedure will obviously not increase, and may very possibly decrease, the price of these goods, and therefore their cost to the consumer.

British and Indian manufacturers and workmen will benefit, while the general body of consumers will not be injured, and may be advantaged. The first-named objection of Free Traders fails in this case.

The risk of retaliation by foreigners must now be considered. It will be borne in mind that the establishment of preferential trade between Britain and India would be a purely domestic arrangement between two parts of the same Empire. Now, Canada has already given Britain a marked preference—one of 33 per cent. in her import tariff.

One of our two great trade rivals, the United States of America, has accepted this arrangement as one within the competence of the contracting parties, and not subject to retaliation.

A similar arrangement has indeed been made by America in respect of her dependency, the Philippine Islands.

It is true that our other chief commercial competitor, Germany, strongly demurred to the grant of preference by Canada to Britain, and replied to it by raising the duties on the import of Canadian goods into Germany.

Canada answered by imposing a surtax on German goods imported into Canada.

The result has been that Germany has again lowered her tariff against Canada, and consequently Canada has removed her surtax.

The right of Canada to grant preference to Britain is now recognized without demur.

Now, if this right is recognized in the case of Canada, why should it not also receive recognition if Britain and India, who belong to the British Empire equally with Canada, choose to grant preference to each other?

Strong support is given to this conclusion by the terms of the Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Relations between Canada and the West Indies, a review of which appeared in the *Morning Post* of September 27, 1910. The following is a quotation from the report :

"Our visit to the West Indies occurred at a time when the commercial public were watching with much interest the tariff movements in the United States. The American tariff had recently been raised, and a provision had been inserted to the effect that in the case of the products of any country unduly discriminating against the United States, a maximum duty of 25 per cent., *ad valorem*, over and above the general tariff, should be applied on and after April 1, 1910. While the desire for closer relations with Canada was quite general throughout the West Indies, it was in some of the islands tempered by the fear that the making of any preferential arrangement between that country and the West Indies might be regarded by the United States as undue discrimination, and thus subject West Indian

products on entry into the United States to the penalty of the maximum tariff.

"The trade between the Colonies and the United States being considerable, it was not surprising that there should be this anxiety as to the tariff to be applied to their products. There does not seem, however, to be any need for alarm on this account.

"It may now be regarded as a settled principle that trade arrangements between parts of the British Empire are to be considered matters of a domestic character which cannot be regarded as discriminatory by any foreign Power.

"The question seems to have received some consideration in connection with the negotiations which recently took place between the Governments of the United States and Canada respecting discriminatory tariff arrangements, and it is worthy of note, as appears from the report of the negotiations given to the Canadian Parliament by the Minister of Finance, that the United States did not treat the Canadian preferential tariff as an undue discrimination.

"It follows that the granting of a preference by the West Indies to any part of the British Empire could not be so regarded.

"This is indeed the logical conclusion to be drawn from the fiscal arrangements of other Powers, including the United States themselves, with different parts of their own possessions."

It will be remembered that the Chairman of this Commission was so convinced a Free Trader as Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

I propose, however, to discuss the probability of retaliation from foreign countries affected by reciprocal preferences between Britain and India from the point of view of the power of retaliation of these countries with due regard to their own interests.

In 1903, when Lord Curzon was Viceroy, the Government of India wrote a notable despatch to the Secretary of State for India in which they gave no support to the inclusion of India in a scheme of Tariff Reform for the Empire. The despatch pointed out that India was a debtor country, and that it was necessary for her to maintain an excess of exports over imports to enable her to pay the annual interest on her debts.

This excess might be endangered if foreign countries raised their import tariffs against India in consequence of her giving preference to other parts of the Empire.

The situation, however, has been changed in favour of India since the date of the despatch by the strengthening of the Indian Gold Reserve. This Reserve would even now enable India to tide over a period of diminution in her exports, and the more it is increased the stronger India's position in this respect.

Just lately the Government of India have again reverted to the arrangement of devoting to the Gold Reserve the whole of the profits on coinage at their mints.

Thus, India has now a resource from which she could pay the annual interest on her debts for a time if she underwent a temporary diminution in her exports.

Moreover, in a Minute appended by Sir E. Law, the Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council, paragraph 136, the following statement is made :

"I feel sufficiently confident that with the great majority of the countries with which we trade, and as regards the very great bulk of our exports of raw material, we are not only in a safe position, but we could even afford, in certain instances, ourselves to assume the aggressive by going so far as to impose duties on the exportation of produce they require for their industries."

It is true that on the whole Sir E. Law's Minute does not countenance the inclusion of India in a scheme of preferential trading with the rest of the Empire; but, in

view of the above quoted statement, it is worth while to examine briefly the details of Indian exports.

The gist of Sir E. Law's summary of his Minute, given in his paragraphs 126 to 131, and 133, 134, may be quoted :

UNITED STATES.

"The institution of a preferential tariff would, if the United States determines to retaliate, probably prove unfavourable to Indian interests rather than otherwise, but it does not appear likely that much harm could be done."

GERMANY.

"German industries would probably suffer somewhat if German manufacturers were discriminated against in an Indian tariff, and Germany is far from being in a position to retaliate with success."

FRANCE.

"French trade would be little hurt by unfavourable discrimination against French goods. France would not be in a favourable position to retaliate."

BELGIUM.

"Belgian trade would suffer considerably under a hostile tariff, and Belgium could not retaliate with effect."

ITALY.

"Italian trade would not be greatly hurt by a hostile tariff, and it is unlikely that Italy could afford strong measures of retaliation."

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

"Austrian trade would be seriously prejudiced by tariff discrimination against Austrian manufacturers, and it is unlikely that Austria could retaliate with effect."

CHINA.

"Trade with China is on a very sure basis, and would not be affected by the adoption of a preferential tariff."

JAPAN.

"It is uncertain how far Japan could afford to impose hampering duties on commodities imported from India, whilst no important results would be likely to follow the introduction of a tariff discriminating against imports of Japanese manufacture."

When it is remembered that Sir E. Law in his final remarks on the whole argues against the adoption of a system of preferential trading by India, it will be admitted that his summary above quoted may be accepted even by Free Traders as an unprejudiced survey of the results likely to arise from the adoption by India of such a system. It would seem that even if foreign countries determined to retaliate on India they could not do her much harm, and would discover that they were damaging themselves more than her, with the probable result that they would desist from their attempts at retaliation just as Germany did in the case of Canada.

Some extracts may now be given from another review of the Indian export trade taken from the report of the Tariff Commission M.M. 30 of November 9, 1900 :

"Nearly three-quarters of the exports of India to Germany consist of raw materials which are admitted free of duty for the purposes of German industry."

I may add that Germany exports no raw materials to India except copper.

"Of the Indian exports to Belgium three-fourths consists of raw cotton and seeds."

The other items are wheat, rice, hemp, hides, and jute. All Belgian exports to India are manufactured articles, except iron.

As regards the Indian export trade to France :

"Practically the whole trade is in raw materials and food-stuffs."

French exports to India consist almost entirely of wine, spirits, and silk manufactures.

Indian exports to Austria-Hungary :

"Consist largely of cotton, jute, hides, and skins . . . raw materials for Austrian manufactures."

Austrian exports to India consist of sugar and manufactured goods.

India's exports to the United States are principally :

"Jute and jute goods. Raw jute enters the United States free of duty; on jute-bags the entry amounts to 52 per cent., and on jute cloth to 20 per cent. of the Indian export value. . . . India also exports raw hides and skins to the United States."

"Nearly 60 per cent. of the Indian imports from the United States consists of mineral oils, upon which the Indian duty is one anna per gallon."

These extracts show that India's exports to the principle foreign commercial countries are mainly foods and raw materials.

Some countries, such as Germany, already put an import duty on the food imports from India—wheat and rice—while all countries admit the raw materials free. All these countries have framed their tariffs solely with regard to their own interests.

They have not put further or higher import duties on imports from India simply because they cannot do without these imports, and it is not to their own interests to tax them more heavily. Obviously they are in a poor position to retaliate on India if she shows preference to Britain, more especially as their exports to her consist mainly of manufactured articles which she could get from Britain or make herself, and of sugar and mineral oil, both of which India produces within her own borders.

To conclude this portion of my subject let me quote the

remarks of Mr. M. de P. Webb, made on page 134 of his book entitled "India and the Empire." He writes as follows :

"First of all, nearly 40 per cent. of our exports (jute, jute goods, opium, til seed, lac, myrobalams, etc.) are materials of which India enjoys a practical monopoly. For foreign nations to check their purchases of these projects would spell ruin to some of their own industries. Another 40 per cent. (cotton, rice, hides and skins, tea and wheat) flows mostly either to other parts of the British Empire, or to countries with whom we are not in the least likely to quarrel, and there is consequently no risk of serious diversion so far as this proportion is concerned.

"The remaining 20 per cent. of the current is made up of dozens of tropical products of a special character, and of exceptional cheapness. Wherever they may be offered they are quite sure to find a strong demand. Many of them are already secured by British buyers, or by non-competing foreign nations, and we can rest assured, therefore, that this portion of our export stream is in no danger."

I submit that the fair conclusion to be drawn from the quotations I have made from various authorities is that foreign nations are not likely to consider preference given by India to England as a reason for retaliation on India, and even if they did adopt that point of view they are not in a position to act on it with effect.

A few words may be added to the possibility of retaliation by foreign countries on Britain in revenge for preference granted to India.

There are three heads under which a re-arrangement of the present British tariff could help Indian products—viz., the existing import duties on tea, coffee and tobacco.

As regards tobacco, what is required is not preference but fair play, or, in other words, a duty, not by weight, but *ad valorem*.

In tea, India's competitors are China and Holland, through her dependency of Java.

Retaliation from China need not be feared, as Chinese import duties have been fixed by treaty.

In coffee, India's greatest rival is Brazil. Britain, still the chief commercial country of the world, need scarcely shrink from the possibility of retaliation by Holland and Brazil, because she chooses, not to raise her import duties against them, but to lower them in favour of her great Eastern Empire.

I submit, then, that the second objection urged by Free Traders against preferential trading—the risk of retaliation from foreigners—has been sufficiently dealt with as regards preference between Britain and India.

The next point for discussion is the manner in which Britain and India could give preference to each other.

As I have already indicated, Britain could assist the Indian exports of tea, coffee, and tobacco.

In a debate in the House of Commons, dated July 25, 1910, Mr. J. F. Hope stated that the British import duty on tea amounted to 62 per cent. on the *average* value of the import and nearly 100 per cent. on the value of the cheaper kinds of tea.

Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that the total British imports of tea during twelve months amounted to 341 million pounds, of which 301 million pounds came from the British Empire, and 40 millions from foreign sources.

These foreign sources, it may be remarked, are China and Java, China sending about one-quarter, and Java three-quarters, of the total. In the course of the same debate Mr. Bonar Law pointed out the danger to Indian tea of increasing competition from Java.

The *Board of Trade Journal* in September, 1910, showed that the actual production of tea in India was increasing, having been 247 million pounds in 1908, and 262 millions in 1909.

Obviously an increased production demands an extended market. The necessity of an extension of their market has been fully recognized by the Indian tea-traders, as shown by their arrangement with the Government of India that a small export duty should be levied on every pound of tea exported from India, and the proceeds paid to a tea cess committee appointed to promote the sale of tea.

Now, Britain beyond all comparison affords the greatest market in the whole world for the sale of tea. Here, if anywhere, there is an opportunity, under favourable circumstances, for increased sales. The latest Government statistical abstract relating to British India, published in September, 1910, and covering the decade from 1899-1900 to 1908-1909, shows in round figures that in the last year of the period under review 234 million pounds of tea were exported from India, of which 170 millions went to Britain.

Every pound of the latter total paid an import duty of fivepence per pound. I suggest a preference to India of one penny per pound, or 20 per cent. of the import duty.

As the duty even thus reduced would still be over 48 per cent. of the average value of the imports, the reduction does not seem excessive.

In the Parliamentary debate, from which quotations have already been made, Colonel Seely remarked that people did not drink China tea on account of a penny difference in price. It is true that Chinese tea is drunk by those that prefer its peculiar flavour and perhaps believe it more digestible.

The preference then proposed for Indian tea would not probably much reduce the imports from China. But the same remark does not apply to the Javanese imports, which form three-quarters of the total foreign import—say 30 million pounds.

Here is an opportunity for expansion in the Indian trade. If the preference given to Indian tea enabled it to oust the Javanese product from the British market, the total cost

to Britain of the preference proposed would be about 200 million pence—say £833,000.

Part of the loss would, no doubt, be recovered by expansion in the imports beyond the present combined totals of imported Indian and Javanese tea.

The latest statistical abstract, already mentioned, shows that in 1908-1909 Britain imported from India in round figures 150,000 hundredweights of coffee, which paid an import duty of fourteen shillings per hundredweight.

According to an India Office Return, No. 181 of 1908, this duty is 19 per cent. *ad valorem*.

I suggest that it should be entirely abolished and Indian coffee allowed to enter Britain free at a cost to the British Exchequer of £105,000.

Quite possibly, however, Indian coffee might entirely oust its Brazilian rival, which is of inferior quality, in which case the total cost to the British Exchequer would be about £175,000, the total revenue now raised from coffee.

As regards the Indian tobacco trade, I have suggested that it should be helped by removing the discrimination now existing against it in our import tariff, or in other words, that it should be taxed *ad valorem*, and not by weight as at present, a system that gives an unfair advantage to its intrinsically more valuable competitors, the tobacco of America and Turkey.

India Office Return No. 181 of 1908 states the British import duty on Indian tobacco to be 262 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Mr. Lloyd George has since increased this duty by eightpence per pound. In connection with the import into Britain of Indian manufactured tobacco, there is a striking statement on p. 35 of Sir Roper Lethbridge's "India and Imperial Preference," where the author points out that in 1906 England bought of unmanufactured tobacco from foreigners 82,744,295 pounds, and from India only 2,304 pounds.

There is, then, plenty of room for expansion in the tobacco trade between India and Britain.

But as the flavour of Indian tobacco, though appreciated by those who are accustomed to it, differs widely from that of American tobacco, to which the British public are habituated, the Indian product requires the assistance of a markedly lower price to introduce it to the British smoker.

This assistance it would receive if the crushing incidence of the import duty were lessened by a levy *ad valorem*.

No doubt in time the import would become considerable but for the present and some years to come the cost to the British Exchequer of lowering the rate of the import duty on Indian tobacco would probably be small.

The assistance, then, to Indian trade by a preference in the British tariff to Indian tea and coffee on the lines suggested would cost the Chancellor of the Exchequer £1,008,000 (one million eight thousand pounds), allowing nothing for expansion in the imports of Indian tea beyond the combined total of Indian and Java tea at present exported.

Adding something for the loss of duty on Indian tobacco during the next few years, the total cost to Britain may be stated at £1,100,000 (one million one hundred thousand pounds). Perhaps it may be argued that tea and coffee planters in India are mainly European.

This is true, but there is no reason that as these industries expand Indians should not take a full share in them. Moreover, the labourers employed are entirely Indian.

The tea industry alone, as stated by Mr. M. de P. Webb, on p. 124 of his book "India and the Empire," employs over half a million persons.

From the British Free Trader's point of view, the cheapening of tea and coffee should be welcomed as a step towards Mr. Gladstone's ideal of a free breakfast table.

It may well be asked how the British Chancellor of the Exchequer can make good the deficit caused by the suggested remission of £1,100,000 in favour of Indian

exporters, without laying fresh burdens on the heavily weighted British taxpayer.

Let him have resource to the coal export duty of the last Unionist Government.

It is argued with some force that this export duty checked the export of the less valuable British coals and that some of the more valuable coal actually exported was used by British steamers, on whom the export duty partly fell.

Britain has, however, a monopoly of the most valuable coal of all—the South Wales steam coal.

No reasonable duty will check its export for the reason that foreigners can find no efficient substitute for it for the purposes of their war vessels and fast merchant liners. Let the less valuable British coals be exported free of duty, let British steamers obtain a rebate for South Wales steam coal bought by them at our coaling stations abroad, and let the export duty on South Wales steam coal be restored, and if necessary enhanced. The old coal duty was estimated to produce about £2,500,000 yearly.

If, modified as suggested, it brought in half as much, the revenue thereby obtained would more than cover the estimated cost of the concessions to Indian imports, and would be paid, not by Britain, but by foreigners.

Moreover, an incidental advantage would be gained by enabling British war vessels and fast merchant steamers to obtain their steam coal at a cheaper rate than their foreign rivals.

It now remains to consider in what direction India can give a preference to British trade.

In the first place she could remit the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. import duty on British cotton manufacturers, at the same time abolishing the obnoxious excise duty on the Indian product.

In view of the inquisition into accounts necessitated by the levy of the excise duty, its abolition would be appreciated by Indian manufacturers at more than its actual cash value.

In 1908-1909 cotton manufactures were imported from abroad into India to a total value of 23 millions in round figures, of which about 21 millions worth came from Britain.

The two millions worth of imported foreign cotton goods was to a great extent manufactured from Indian raw cotton exported to Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, and Japan, and competed directly rather with the Indian than the Lancashire product, which latter is almost entirely made from American cotton.

The expansion therefore facilitated by remitting the 3½ per cent. charges to the Indian and Lancashire manufacturers, while retaining them for foreigners, would certainly be shared by India.

And both India and Lancashire would profit by the enlargement of their market in India itself consequent on the lower prices at which they could afford to sell their goods. It may be noted that cotton gins and presses, and cotton spinning, and weaving factories in India employ in round figures 318,000 persons.

The *Times* in its Empire issue of May 24, 1909, calculated the revenue derived from the Indian cotton excise duty at £226,000.

And if the whole of the cotton import duty were lost to the Indian Government by its remission in favour of Lancashire goods *pari passu* with the abolition of the cotton excise and the consequent capture of the foreign trade by Lancashire and India, the loss in revenues would be £805,000, making a total deficit of £1,031,000 (one million and thirty-one thousand pounds) sterling. But, apart from cotton, India can give Britain preference in other lines.

What these are may be gathered from the remarks on pp. 81 and 83 of Mr. Webb's "India and the Empire," where the author says :

"India buys more steel, more silk manufactures, more glass and glassware, more jewellery, and more clocks and

watches from foreign sources than from British suppliers, and that, too, in spite of the fact that Great Britain is very expert in the manufacture of such goods."

And again, in her trade with India,

"Germany is doing best in woollen goods, hardware and cutlery."

In the Tariff Commission Report M.M. 38, of November 9, 1908, paragraph 5 of the summary, it is stated that :

"In goods other than cotton there has been an increased Indian importation in twenty years of $22\frac{3}{4}$ millions, of which $8\frac{1}{4}$ millions have gone to the United Kingdom and $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions to other countries, chiefly Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, the United States, and Japan. These goods include woollens, apparel, silks, machinery, railway plant and rolling stock, iron and steel, hardware and cutlery, china, glass, paper, and chemicals and drugs."

The same report on p. 16 runs as follows :

"Excluding sugar (2 millions) there remains about $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions worth of foreign manufactures competing in India with similar British products, and upon which there is at present no differentiation of duty."

This calculation of £10,500,000, being the value of the trade in which British manufactures might be given preference by India, is supported by the remarks of a Free Trade economist, Professor Lees Smith, who writes on pages 90 and 91 of his book, "India and the Tariff Problem":

"The sum of £18,448,000 due to imports from foreign countries represents all the trades which might be diverted to the United Kingdom by a preference in her favour. A large proportion, however, of these imports are of such

a nature that even with a preference the United Kingdom could not take the place of the existing source of supply."

* * * * *

"The value, therefore, of the imports of which the supply from the United Kingdom can be effective is reduced to £10,444,000."

From these 10½ millions must be deducted 2 millions of cotton manufactures for which allowance has already been made.

If it be supposed, as an extreme case, that British manufacturers captured all the remaining trade, the loss in import duties would be £425,000, as the general rate in the Indian Tariff is 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. If this amount be added to the loss on the cotton excise and import duty already calculated, the Indian Government would have to make up a total deficit of £1,456,000 (one million four hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds) sterling.

Well, export duties are not unknown to India. She already levies an export duty on rice at fourpence per hundredweight, although she has by no means a monopoly of that product. The *Times* in its Empire issue of May 24, 1909, pointed out that the revenue from the export duty was growing, and that in 1907-1908 it amounted to £664,000.

Professor Lees Smith, the Free Trade economist already quoted, on p. 73 of his book, "India and the Tariff Problem," writes :

"India is in a specially favourable position for imposing export duties, as she produces certain commodities of which the exports are large and of which she is the only source of supply."

Such exports are raw jute and lac. In 1908-1909, according to the statistical abstract relating to British India, there were exported from India in round figures £13,250,000

worth of raw jute (of which £5,500,000 went to Britain), and £1,800,000 worth of lac, (of which £500,000 went to Britain).

Thus foreign countries took over £9,000,000 worth of these raw materials of manufacture, of which India has an absolute monopoly.

Now Mr. Webb, on p. 98 of his book, "India and the Empire," points out that our chief commercial competitors, the United States, Germany, and France, import raw jute free, but impose an import duty of 20 per cent *ad valorem* on Indian jute manufactures.

If India were to impose an export duty of 20 per cent. on her exports of raw jute and lac to foreign countries, she would get a revenue of £1,800,000—much more than enough to cover the deficit caused by the abolition of the cotton excise, and the import duties on British manufactures. She would also assist her jute industry, the largest of her manufactures next to cotton, which employed in 1908-1909 about 210,000 persons.

The margin of the revenue from export duties over the loss from remitted excise and import duties, is large enough to allow of a considerable diminution in the exports of raw jute to foreign countries.

As Mr. Webb on his p. 97 points out, the United States impose an export duty of thirty shillings per ton on Manila hemp, exported from the Philippines and give a rebate on all hemp imported from the Philippines into the United States in an American vessel.

Substitute jute and lac for hemp, India for the Philippines, and Britain for the United States, and the parallel would be complete.

I shall conclude by a brief summary of the points I have essayed to establish, and submit that I have shown—

- a. That preferential trade can be established between Britain and India.
- b. That it need not raise prices to the consumer.
- c. That it would not induce retaliation by the foreigner.

- d.* That it need not impose any extra taxation on either Britain or India.
- e.* That it would assist the Indian tea, coffee, tobacco, cotton, and jute industries.
- f.* That it would similarly assist British cotton, silk, glass, woollen, and many other industries.

If these contentions are accepted as proved, can it be denied that the early establishment of preferential trade between Britain and India is a worthy object for the efforts of statesmen in both countries?

TIBETAN INVASION OF INDIA IN 647 A.D. AND ITS RESULTS.

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B.

"Silāditya Rāja will be dead and India will be laid waste; and in rebellion wicked men will slaughter one another."—*Prophecy in Hiuen Tsang's "Life,"* BEAL, p. 154.

THIS remarkable event, which powerfully affected the course of Indian history, has come to light only in relatively recent years, and hitherto has received but incidental notice. Its importance, however, in international history demands more detailed examination; and as I have personally traversed a great part of the area crossed by this invading army—during my tracking of the footsteps of the famous geographer-pilgrim Hiuen Tsang over many hundreds of miles—I hope to be able here, with the local information thus acquired, to throw some fresh light upon its topography and some other points which are at present obscure.

One striking inference suggested by this campaign is that the Tibetans, who were then, in the middle of the seventh century A.D., one of the greatest military powers in Asia, far excelled the English of those days in social organization and virility. Their self-restraint, too, was remarkable. The invasion was not one of those aggressive waves of Huns which had swept over Europe as well as Western Asia a short time before. It was a punitive expedition to revenge an insult offered to a relative of their king; and for a time Tibet became the suzerain of India.

The far-reaching effect of this invasion upon India is

thus recently summarized in one of the first systematic histories to notice it:*

"As to the Indian Empire, the effect of the war was a complete anarchy, of which Dhara-sena IV., the King of Valabhi [the modern Gujarāt], at once took advantage, assuming the imperial titles, and thus inaugurating the permanent separation of the kingdom of Valabhi from the Northern Empire."

For our first knowledge of this invasion we are indebted to the labours of European students of Chinese history, who have discovered several references to it embedded in that trustworthy source of contemporary history, the annals of the T'ang Emperors of that period. That this invasion should have been entirely forgotten in India itself is not surprising, when it is remembered that the history of ancient India was practically unknown to its modern inhabitants until it was unearthed and reconstructed during the past century, and more especially during the past twenty-five years, by the scientific researches of students, almost entirely Europeans. Of the many gaps still remaining, some of which are being filled up every year, one embraces the period covered by this invasion.

The first intimation of this invasion, although announced many years ago in an extract from the Chinese annals by the sinologist, M. Stanislas Julien,† the pioneer translator of Hiuen Tsang's travels, seems to have escaped observation until 1880. In that year a translation of the extract was reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary*,‡ and in the same year further extracts were furnished from the T'ang chronicles by Dr. Bushell, of the British Legation at Peking.§

These various notices have been revised and added to by Professor S. Lévi, whose translations are here

* *History of India*, by A. R. Hoernle and H. A. Stark (Cuttack, 1905), p. 56. The first systematic history to notice it was V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 1904, where it is referred to at some length.

† "Notice sur l'Inde" in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847; also M. Pauthier in same journal; and in 1882 Professor Parker in *China Missions*.

‡ Vol. ix., 1880, p. 20.

§ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, pp. 446 and 528, n. 15.

adopted as the more authoritative.* A further solid contribution to the research has been made by Professor Chavannes in his translations of the Chinese inscriptions left at Bodh Gaya and elsewhere in India by the leader of the invading army;† and one of the ancient edicts, discovered by me at Lhasa, contains a reference to these Tibetan wars with India.‡

The absolute silence of the Tibetan history books, as well as native tradition in regard to these wars with India, is, I think, to be explained partly by want of established literary method—as Tibet was only then beginning to reduce its language to writing§—but mainly and more probably is it to be credited, in my opinion, to deliberate suppression by the Buddhist monks who compiled the extant histories. For Tibetans venerate India as the sacred land of Buddha, whence they derive their faith; and to ascribe to the king of that period, Sröng-tsän, a blood-stained invasion of India would be tantamount to sacrilege; as this king is the chief canonized saint in Tibet, who introduced Buddhism and the *Om-mani* formula into the country, and who even now is believed to be incarnate in the head of that Church, the Dalai Lama.||

The records which preserve the history of this invasion—namely, the annals of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618 to 906)—exist in two redactions: (1) the “Old T'ang History,” or *Tang-shu*, compiled in original form about A.D. 713; and (2) the “New T'ang History,” remodelled and expanded and brought up to date about the middle of the eleventh century.¶ The one supplements and controls the other. These chronicles thus speak for themselves**:—

* *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, p. 68 et seq.; 1900, p. 297 et seq.

† *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1896, No. 1.

‡ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 930.

§ My *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 18-24, and my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 940-946.

|| My *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 231 et seq.

¶ Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 437.

** Translated by me from M. Lévi's article. I have altered the phonetic transcription of several of the proper names to the English forms.

"Old" *T'ang History*
(chap. 198).

1. Before that [*i.e.*, the return of the pilgrim *Hieu Tsang* in the spring of A.D. 645]* *Wang Hien-ts'e*, who was "chief of the guard of rights and archivist,"† was sent on a mission to India.

2. All the Kings of the four Indias sent tribute to the court.

3. The King who reigned in Central India, *Chi-lo-i-to* [*Silāditya*], died at that time.|| The kingdom fell into anarchy.

4. His minister, *Na-fuk-ti O-lo-na-shun*¶ [= *Arjuna* (?)] usurped the throne; he took the field with barbarian troops to repulse *Hieu-ts'e*.

5. The mission had only an escort of 30 horsemen; it gave battle to the barbarians, but the fight was unequal. The arrows once exhausted, all were made prisoners, and the barbarians plundered the objects offered in tribute by the kingdoms.

6. *Hieu-ts'e* himself escaped only under cover of the night. He fled to the territory** of the *T'u-fan* [Tibetans], who gave him 1,200 picked soldiers; *Ni-po-lo* [= Nepal] brought him 7,000 horsemen for his escort.

7. *Hieu-ts'e*, accompanied by his assistant, *Tsiang Shih-jen*, put himself at the head of the soldiers of the two kingdoms, and advanced

"New" *T'ang History*
(chap. 224, 1).

The 22nd year [of *Cheng-kuan* = A.D. 648]. *Wang Hieu-ts'e*, who was "chief of the guard of rights and archivist," was sent on a mission to this country [*T'ien-chu* = India], with *Tsiang Shih-jen*‡ as assistant.

Before§ their arrival *Chi-lo-i-to* [= *Silāditya*] died. The kingdom fell into anarchy.

The minister *Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shun* was able to usurp it; he sent troops into the field to repulse *Hieu-ts'e*.

The mission had as escort only some tens of horsemen; it was unable to triumph; all perished. The objects offered in tribute by the kingdoms were plundered.

Wang Hieu-ts'e escaped; he ran to the western frontier, to *T'u-fan* [Tibet], and he called to arms the neighbouring countries. *T'u-fan* [Tibet] furnished a thousand soldiers, *Ni-po-lo* seven thousand horsemen.

Hieu-ts'e distributed his army in corps, and advanced to the town of *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*; at the end of three days he took it. Three thousand

* See p. 48.

† I find this title still survives in Tibet. At Chumbi, in 1904, I met a Chinese official bearing the designation of "chief archivist."

‡ The "Tsiang-jenn" of M. Lévi.

§ "Avant."

|| "Alors."

¶ "Na fou-ti Olo-na choen" of Lévi.

** "Il s'ensuit chez les T'ufan."

up to the capital of Central India. The battle lasted three days; the losses were considerable. Three thousand heads were cut off; nearly 10,000 fell into the river† and were drowned.

8. *O-lo-na-shun* left the town and fled. *Shih-jen* went to give him battle; he took him prisoner, with 12,000 persons, men and women, and more than 30,000 head of cattle, oxen and horses.

9. Then India trembled.

10. *Hüuen-ts'e* brought his prisoner to the capital [of China] in the 22nd year [*Cheng-kuen* = A.D. 648] in the fifth month on the day *Keng-tzeu*.§

heads were cut off; 10,000 persons were drowned in the streams.*

O-lo-na-shun, quitting the kingdom, fled, and, reforming his dispersed troops, returned to offer battle. *Shih-jen* took him prisoner, decapitating a thousand persons at the time. The others who had charge of the women of the king barred the passage of the river *K'ien-t'o-wei* [=Gandaki]. *Shih-jen* attacked them; they had a great fight. He made prisoners of the wives and sons of the King, a camp‡ of 10,000 persons and all sorts of domestic animals, to the number of 30,000.

He received the submission of 580 walled towns. The King of Eastern India, *Chi-kieou-mo* [*Sri Kumāra*], offered as presents 30,000 pieces of cattle to provision the army; also some bows, sabres, and trappings. The kingdom of *Kia-mou-lou* [=Kāmarūpa or Assam] offered curiosities for the Emperor, a map of the country, and asked for an image of *Lao-ts'u* as a gift.

Hüuen-ts'e retained the prisoner *O-lo-na-shun*, and offered him humiliated to the Emperor. The victory was proclaimed in the temple of the Imperial ancestors.

Further information regarding the circumstances which led up to this war has been gleaned from other chapters of the T'ang annals and elsewhere by Dr. Bushell, and more especially by M. Lévi,|| which I here detail:

* "Les flots." † Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 527. M. Lévi has "water."

‡ "Smala."

§ Chap. iii., p. 88; S. Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 310.

|| *Loc. cit.* The account here given embodies his own words to a great extent.

About A.D. 640 the paramount King of India, *Harsha-Silāditya*, whom the Chinese variously term "the King of Central India" or of "Magadha" (though the whole of the Ganges basin, Central India, and the Bombay districts were comprised within his empire), after his interviews with the pilgrim-monk, Hiuen Tsang (described in detail in the latter's journals), sent a mission to the T'ang Emperor, which arrived at the Chinese capital in A.D. 641. In answer to this, a Chinese mission was sent to India to carry a reply from the Emperor, and escort back "a Brahmin, an official guest of the Emperor," doubtless the ambassador of Silāditya. This mission, which left the Chinese capital "in the third month of the year A.D. 643," with an escort of twenty-two men, had as envoy Li Yi-piao, with Hiuen-ts'e, or Yuan-ts'e, as assistant. After nine months' journey, apparently through Tibet and Nepal, it arrived at Magadha, the country around Patna (see the accompanying map), in the twelfth month of the year A.D. 643. It remained some time in India, detained doubtless by pious occupations. In 645, at the end of the first month, it was at Rajgir (see map); it ascended there the Vulture's Peak (*Gridhra-kūta*), and left an inscription. Fifteen days later it was at Bodh-Gaya (*Mahābodhi*), and there also left an inscription as a souvenir.* Either in going or returning this mission proceeded through Nepal, where the king (Aṁsuvarman)† treated it with honour. On return to China, Wang Hiuen-ts'e was soon sent back again, as meanwhile another mission had arrived, with offerings of pearls, incense, and Bodhi-trees ("Pūti" = *Ficus religiosa*).‡

This fateful mission, which eventuated in the war, set out in the year A.D. 646 § in simple fashion in the charge of

* These are the inscriptions, translated by Professor Chavannes, already referred to.

† Fleet, *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, iii., p. 189. M. Lévi says Narēndradeva, but this could only be the king at the third mission in A.D. 657.

‡ Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 528.

§ See p. 48.

Wang Hien-ts'e, as the bearer of official presents to the King of India, and an escort of thirty horsemen, which latterly developed into an entire army that brought back the King of India a prisoner to the Emperor!

The chief questions with which I deal here, and on which I reach fresh results and conclusions on important points differing from those hitherto held, are:

1. The State to which the invading Army belonged.
2. Date of the invasion.
3. Date of King Harsha's death, which led up to the invasion.
4. Route by which the invaders entered India.
5. Identity of the Chief Town captured and seat of the Greatest Battles.
6. Duration of Tibetan relations with Mediæval India.
7. Effect on Tibet.

THE INVADING ARMY, TIBETAN.

This invasion of India is credited to China by recent writers, but the ancient Chinese records themselves ascribe it to Tibetan arms. Supplementing the foregoing account of the exploit in paragraph 6 of the chronicles, a further chapter of the Old T'ang History is still more explicit and unequivocal. It says in its chapter on Tibet* (chap. 256): "In the 22nd year [Cheng-kuan=A.D. 648] the Imperial envoy, Wang Hiuen-ts'e, who had been charged with a mission to the western country, was plundered in Central India (*Chung Tien-chu*). The Tibetans (*T'u-fan*) sent an army of brave warriors, and, accompanied by Hiueh-ts'e, attacked India and inflicted a great defeat, and despatched envoys who brought to the Emperor the news of the victory."

Here it is clearly stated that it was the Tibetans who

* Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 446. M. S. Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1905, p. 301, gives an identical reading, except that for "accompanied" he has "sous la conduite"; he reproduces the sentences, stating that "it was the "Tibetans" who attacked, etc.—"ils attaquèrent," etc.

sent the army, that the Chinese envoy merely "accompanied" the force, and that it was *they* who attacked and inflicted the defeat.

Tibet at this period was a great military power and master of Nepal.* This explains why both versions of the T'ang history (paragraph 6), in stating that the fugitive envoy fled from India to Tibet, make no mention of Nepal as intervening between these two countries, because Nepal was Tibetan territory. In the composition of the army which the Tibetans raised for this expedition they included 7,000 horsemen of their Nepalese vassal—a wise precaution, as Tibetans are unable to withstand the heat of the plains for long.

On the other hand, Tibet was absolutely independent of China. The king at this time, Srong-tsan, a famous warrior, whom the T'ang annals state "was by nature fond of war as well as a clever tactician,"† had annexed large tracts of Western China. He also by force of arms compelled the Son of Heaven to accede to his demand for the hand of an imperial princess only six years before (in 641). The latter circumstance explains why the Tibetan king responded so promptly to the appeal for his help by the envoy of his "father-in-law"; also why he permitted the Chinese envoy to proceed through Tibetan and Nepalese territory to and from India.

The rapidity, too, with which the Tibetan troops were forthcoming, suggests that at the time of the Chinese envoy's flight they were present on duty in the capital of Nepal.

* The vernacular histories of Nepal record the domination of the Tibetans or "Bhotiyas," as was noted by Colonel Kilpatrick and Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, downwards; but it remained to Professor Lévi to elicit definite particulars and the true chronology (*cf.* his *Le Nepal*). One of his extracts from a contemporary work, compiled in A.D. 650 (*Cheu-kia fang-tchi*, by *Tao-Siuen*), states: "Récemment les orders de l'Empire passaient par ce royaume [Nepal] et de la se répandaient au loin. Maintenant il dépend du Toufan (Tibet)" (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 442).

† Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 445.

As regards the leadership of the avenging army, it is possible that the Chinese envoy may have actually led it, as he appears to have claimed, even though he was a civilian "chief of the guard of [? civil] rights and archivist"; it was the division associated with his assistant which captured the king. On the other hand, it may be that he merely "accompanied" the avenging army, as one account states, in the position of political officer, and the official who was outraged, and who had to be appeased, and who also knew the country well from several years' experience during his two missions. There may have been a dual leadership, somewhat as in the Lhasa Mission of 1904 to which this punitive expedition bears some analogy, where the control of the army was vested entirely in a military commander (possibly T'oh-mi, a clever Tibetan who had been in India before), but who in the political summaries of that "invasion" remains in the background unmentioned.

Be this as it may, and notwithstanding that this invasion was undertaken by the Tibetans in defence of the Chinese envoy of the king's father-in-law, it is, nevertheless, clear that it was an achievement of Tibetan arms.

DATE OF INVASION.

The date of this invasion is placed by the best and latest authorities in A.D. 648;* but it appears to me, for the reasons given below, to have occurred in A.D. 647.

The one fixed basis that is available from which this date is to be calculated is obviously the time of arrival of the captive Indian king and the envoy Hiuen-ts'e at the Chinese capital, the modern Sianfu. This event happened on the day *keng-tzen* in the fifth month of the twenty-second year of *Chêng-kuan*, which corresponds to the sixth month of A.D. 648.†

* Bushell, *Chinese Art*, vol. i., p. 24; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 326.

† *Ancient Tang History*, chap. iii., p. 8b; S. Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 310.

In attempting to estimate from this date the approximate time of the invasion, it will be necessary to deduct from it the following antecedent periods :

1. The time required for the long road-journey from the Indian frontier to Sianfu by way of Nepal and Tibet.
2. The time for the road-journey from the place of capture to the Indian frontier.
3. The period elapsing between the invasion of Indian territory and the capture of the King.

The journey from the Indian frontier of Nepal to Sianfu is one of the most tremendous in the world. It leads over the Himalayas and across the entire width of Tibet, and beyond that over a mountainous part of China as well, traversing tortuous torrents, the passes of stupendous mountains, and inclement deserts at immense altitudes, and fording and ferrying countless rivers.

Fortunately, the time necessary for this journey is well known. The tribute mission of the Nepalese still follows what is evidently the same track. This is the *direct** high-road, or *Gya-lam*, to Peking, which passes from Kathmandu the capital of Nepal, over the Nilam Pass of the Himalayas† (see map), and through Lhasa to Sianfu, the old capital of the T'ang period with which we are now concerned. The journey from Kathmandu to Sianfu takes 142 days' hard marching‡ without any halts whatsoever, for which in such a long distance an allowance of at least one day in six is necessary for changes in transport, animals, etc. These are full day journeys for travellers on horseback, and coincide as far as Lhasa with the number recorded by the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century who travelled from the Nepalese capital by the same route. In that distance the Jesuits record thirty-seven marches, against forty of the Nepalese, but one of the

* An alternative road *via* Koko Nor is called the "North road" (*byang-lam*), but it is much longer and still more inclement.

† This is the same pass over which, a thousand years later, an enormous Chinese army descended on Nepal to avenge the sack of Tashihupo monastery by the Gorkhas.

‡ Detailed list of the stages is cited by Brian Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. ii., p. 188.

marches of the former covered ninety miles, evidently three days over a desert.* It seems unlikely that these stages would be exceeded by an ambassador in charge of a prisoner of State, and accompanied by a considerable retinue.

These data enable us to make the following estimate :

	Days.
Probable interval between the Invaders crossing the Indian frontier and the capture of the King—say	30
Deporting the King to frontier	8
Road-journey from Indian frontier to Nepalese capital (Kathmandu)	15
Minimum stages from Nepal capital to Chinese capital (Sianfu)	142
Add minimum halts, at 1 day in 6	26
	<hr/> 211

We thus get seven months as an irreducible *minimum* period to include the war up to the capture of the king, as well as the escort of the latter in company with the envoy and his suite back to the Chinese capital ; but the actual period was in all probability several months longer. The road journey especially is here probably much underestimated. Those who know by experience the circumstances of travel in Tibet would make greater allowance for halts on account of the delays in crossing rivers, changing transport animals, inclement weather, and unforeseen accidents by the way. As a fact we have it recorded (p. 42) that it took Hiuen-ts'e's first embassy " nine months " for the mere journey from Sianfu to Magadha, and it is practically certain that on that occasion it travelled by this route *via* Nepal. Had it proceeded by the much more circuitous Turkestan route, that period must have been considerably exceeded. Whereas the direct route *via* Lhasa was not only open, but inviting, as the newly-wedded Chinese princess at the Tibetan capital was—the histories both Tibetan and Chinese informs us—sending and receiving frequent messengers to and from the Chinese capital.

* Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, 1778, p. 453.

Hiuen-ts'e himself refers to the passage of his former mission by this route, though he does not mention whether in one direction, or in both. The practice seems to have been to enter Magadha by the direct route (by land if Tibet were open to them, or by sea when it was closed), and when time was not an object to return by way of Northern India and the Chinese provinces of Turkestan.

A period of eight to nine months is thus practically the minimum allowable for the several episodes in question, and, deducting this from the sixth month of A.D. 648, brings the latest date for the invasion well within A.D. 647.

DATE OF KING HARSHA SILADITYA'S DEATH.

As a corollary to this new date for the invasion, the date of King Harsha's death which is based upon it calls for revision.

The latest revised date for Harsha's demise is "the end of 647 or beginning of [A.D.] 648."*

This great king, who may well be called an Emperor of India, was alive in A.D. 643,† when his intimate friend and guest, the "Master of the Law," Hiuen Tsang, took affectionate farewell of him at Kanauj. After this, nothing more is heard of him until his death is recorded in the Chinese annals, as the reason for the hostile attack on the Chinese envoy, which led to the invasion by Tibet.

The date in question thus depends on the movements of the envoy Hiuen-ts'e. This personage, according to the Old T'ang History, left the Chinese capital on his second and eventful mission "before the return of the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang" (see text, p. 40); and this latter event is definitely recorded as having taken place "in the spring of A.D. 645."‡

* Professors Chavannes and Lévi in *epist.* V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 1909, pp. 326, 331, 348.

† Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 566; Smith in Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, p. 336.

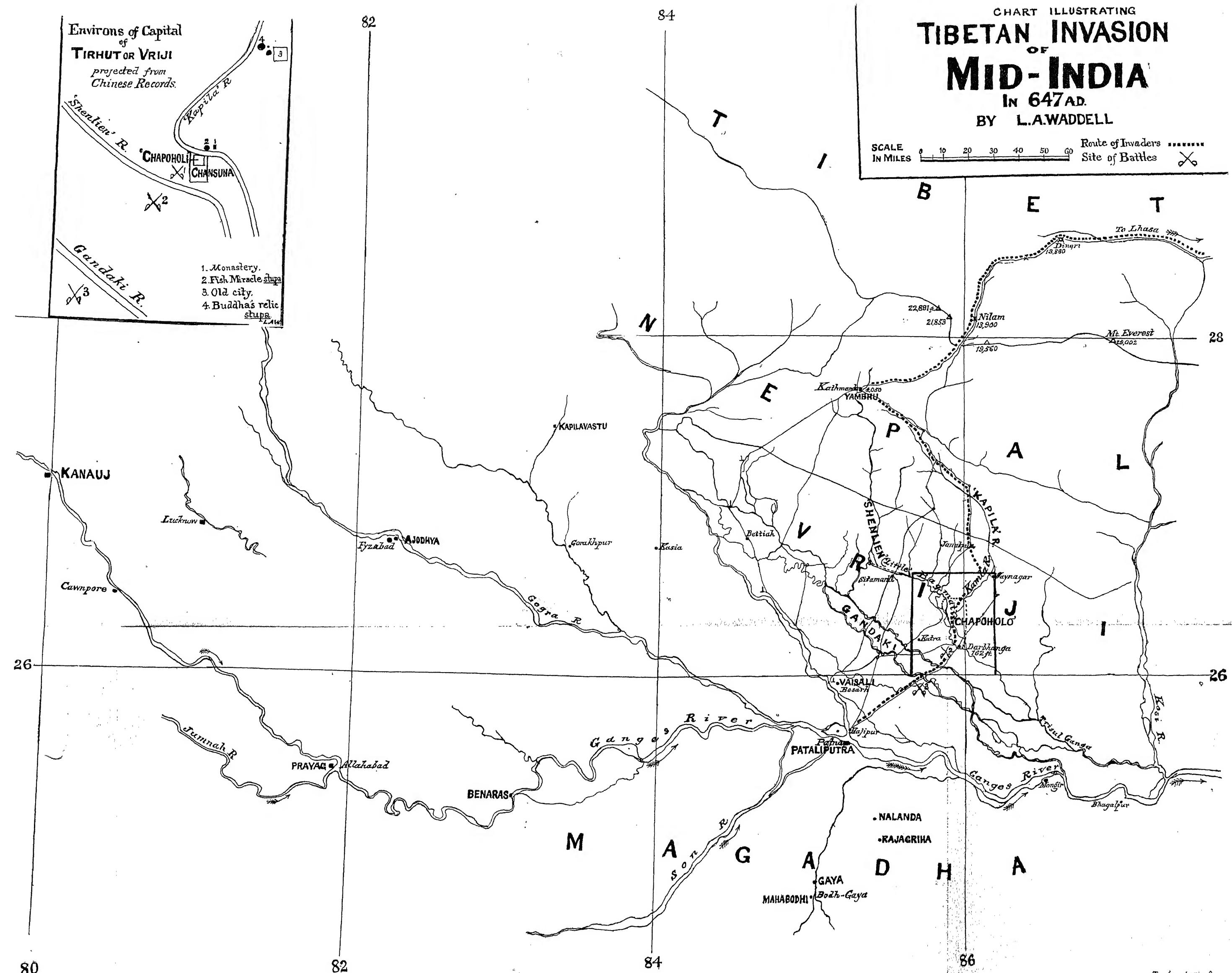
‡ S. Julien, *La Vie de Hiuen Tsang*, p. 297: "On the day I-hai of the 2nd month." Cf. also Mayer, *Chinese Manual*, p. 290; also Beal and Watters, *op. cit.*

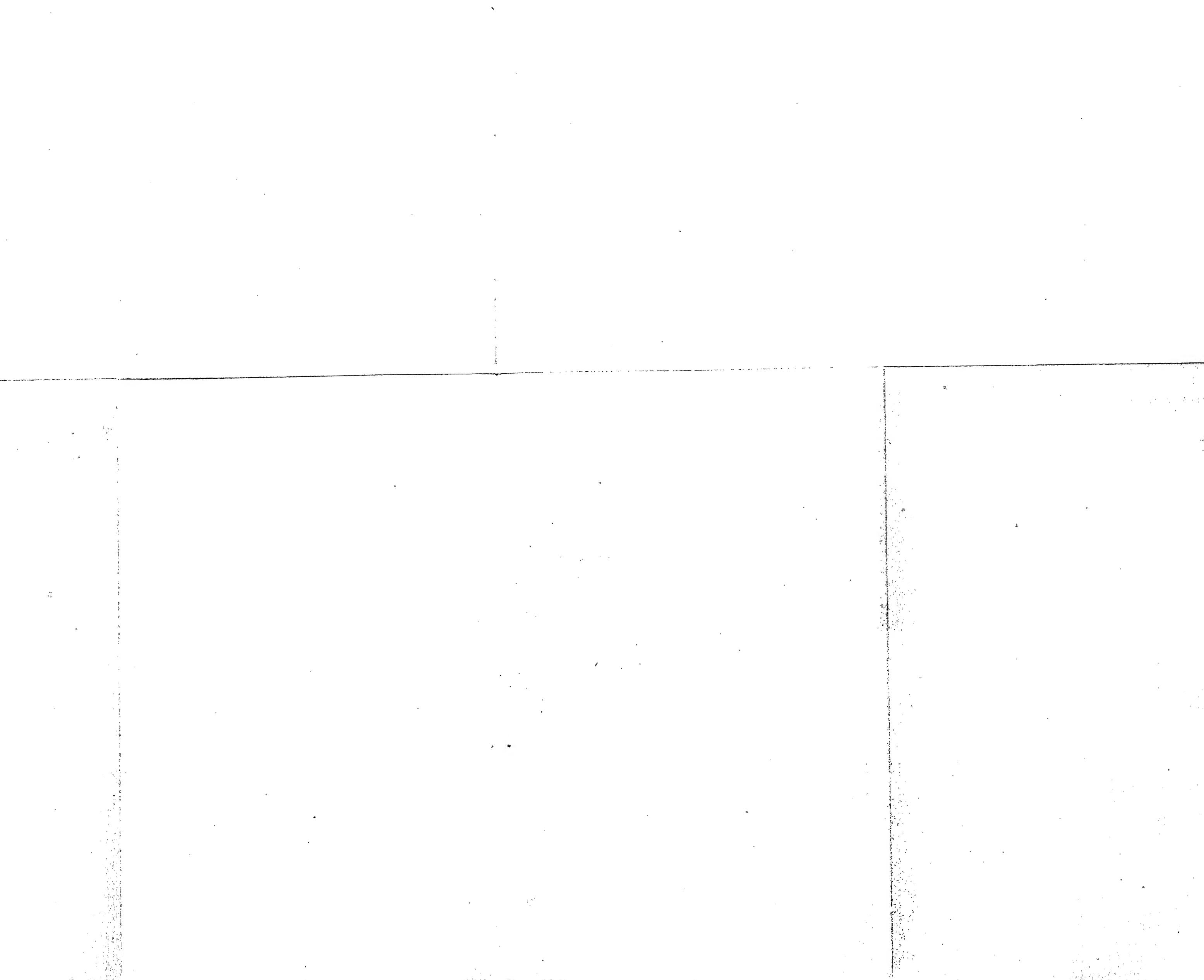
CHART ILLUSTRATING
TIBETAN INVASION
OF
MID-INDIA

IN 647 AD.

BY L.A.WADDELL

SCALE
IN MILES 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 Route of Invaders Site of Battles X





This, however, is clearly a mistake of the T'ang History, for in the first and second month of that year the first mission, of which this envoy was a member, was still in Magadha in India, as recorded in the dated inscriptions left by it there, and translated by Professor Chavannes.* Manifestly the compiler of this history in this particular confused the two periods of absences of the envoy in India. Another creditable account† places the date of this envoy's second departure in the year 646, and this seems probable; for although the *New T'ang History*‡ says that King Harsha Silāditya died "before" the arrival in India of this envoy, it nevertheless agrees with the *Old History*, a better authority, in stating that in the attack on the envoy "the things offered in tribute by the kingdoms were plundered." This implies that the envoy had been many months in India, probably over a year, before the attack upon his returning escort.

It seems clear, then, that King Harsha's death occurred *towards the end* of Hiuen-ts'e's mission, and after "all the Kings of the four Indias [had] sent tribute to the court,"§ and that it was only when he was returning with this tribute he was attacked and plundered by the "minister" who had "usurped the throne." Harsha's death, therefore, must be placed *towards the beginning of the year 647* at latest, and probably in 646, in order to allow sufficient time for the succeeding episodes, the usurpation, attack on the envoy, flight of the latter to Nepal, and the mobilization and march back of the avenging army, which, as we have seen, must have crossed the frontier before the end of A.D. 647.

ROUTE BY WHICH THE INVADING ARMY ENTERED INDIA.

The only geographical details supplied by the Chinese records are so meagre and vague that no identifications have hitherto been made either of the route by which the

* See p. 42.

† By Ma Tuan-lin, A.D. 1325, a later but critical historian. Cf. S. Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 299.

‡ See text, p. 40, col. 2.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 40, col. 1; also col. 2, para. 5.

invaders entered India or of the only town specified by name in the records, "*Cha-po-ho-lo*" or *T'u-po-ho-lo*,* the one which offered the chief resistance.

The country which was the objective of the invaders from Nepal was termed by the Chinese Mid-India,† and it formed the central portion of Harsha's kingdom. It comprised the plains of the Ganges, and centred around the ancient Magadha—*i.e.*, Patna and its adjoining districts of the modern province of Bihar, south of the Ganges—which was the seat of Asoka and the early Emperors, so that the Chinese use the traditional term "Magadha" as synonymous with Mid-India (see the attached map).

Between the province of Magadha and Nepal there intervened that province, or kingdom, of ancient India variously called Vrij, Mithilā, and Tirhüt, and corresponding broadly to the modern districts of Mozaffarpur, Champaran, and Darbhanga. Its northern border marched with the Indian frontier of Central Nepal throughout the entire extent of the latter, whilst on the west and east it was bounded by the Gandakī and Kosi Rivers respectively, and on the south was separated by the Ganges from Magadha (see the map).

An army coming from Nepal to Magadha must therefore pass through this province of Vriji or Tirhüt, which indeed is part of Mid-India itself. Now, let us ask, where did the recognized route from Nepal to Magadha run through this province at the time of this invasion? Fortunately, it happens that, only ten years before the date of the invasion, the indefatigable pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, made at least part

* The latter is the reading suggested by Professor Parker, to whom I referred it. The character for the first syllable is the symbol *Ch'a*, which means ten, which, says Professor Parker, was scarcely a common word so early, whereas an almost identical symbol, differing only by the addition of one stroke, is *T'u*.

† "Central India," which is used by some writers, is an undesirable term, as it is now officially current in an entirely different sense—namely, to denote the semi-independent States in the heart of India, and excluding the Ganges Valley altogether.

of the journey from Patna (Magadha) to the Nepal capital, and has left a description of the route with its directions and distances. This shows that the road in those days ran from the north bank of the Ganges opposite Patna (see map) north-east, and passed through the capital of the Indian frontier state of Vriji or Tirhüt, which capital then stood in what is now the northern part of the Darbhanga district; and from here the road turned north-west up the outer Himalayas to the Nepalese capital.

The different alignments of the road from Patna to Nepal in different ages in ancient times seems to me to have been determined largely by the changing course of the great Gandakī River, which by its wide oscillations through this province has earned for the latter the name of *Tirhüt*, or "the eroded banks" (*Tirabhūkti*). In Buddha's day the high-road to Nepal appears to have ran along the extreme west, as indicated by the line of Asoka pillars extending from Patna north-west to the Nepalese frontier (see map). But the eastward movement of the great Gandakī River appears to have thrown the road, and with it the capital more and more eastwards, until at the time of this invasion, in the middle of the seventh century, the main channel of the great Gandakī appears to have flowed, as we will presently see, far to the east, in a channel which is now called the "Little Gandakī." For in modern times the great river has broken back again into one of its old channels on the extreme west, as seen in the map.

In the pilgrim's description of this road from Nepal to Patna, and of the intervening capital as they existed in A.D. 637, the directions and distances are clearly stated from two known fixed points:

"Going north-east from this [*i.e.*, Ananda's relic-stupa, on the north bank of the Ganges, immediately opposite *Pātaliputra* (Patna)]* 500 li

* Although the remains of this *stupa* have not been found, owing probably to its having been washed away by the Ganges, its position to within two or three miles is well defined. It lay near Sonpur, to the west of Hajipur, as shown in the map.

or so, we arrive at the country of *Fo-li-shi* [=Vriji]. . . . The capital is called *Chan-shu-na*.* It is in a ruinous state, and the old walled city, which was like a country town, has a population of over 3,000 families.† To the north-east of the great river is a monastery. . . . Going north-west from this‡ 1,400 or 1,500 *li*, crossing some mountains, and entering a valley, we come to the country of *Ni-po-lo* [=Nepal].”§

Projecting this itinerary on the map, it is not to be expected that the distances recorded by the Chinese pilgrim, which are based upon the time taken by him for the journey and from hearsay information, should coincide with the scientifically measured distances on the modern survey maps. Nevertheless his indications, as I myself have found, are usually remarkably accurate. In converting his *li* into English miles I follow General Cunningham in his estimate of 6 *li* to the mile, as this accords best with my own experience.

The direction indicated for the Nepal-Patna road by the pilgrim, it will be noted, shows this road to run from Patna in a north-east course for about 500 *li* (=83 miles) to the Tirhüt capital; and thence north-west for about 1,400 *li* (=233 miles), through the mountains to the Nepal capital.

In the direction thus specified, between the two known fixed points of Patna and the Nepal capital, we find an old road to Nepal running from Hājipur, opposite Patna, north-east through Darbhanga, and at a point about 25 miles beyond that town, turning north-west through the outer Himalayas to the capital of Nepal, Kathmandu. Near this turning point there exist near the town of Jaynagar (90 miles from Hājipur) extensive ruins of ancient forts, the walls of which are still several feet high. This, or an alternative site to the south, as we will presently see, can satisfy topographically the descriptions for both the

* This is the spelling of Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii., p. 81. Beal transcribes it as *Chen-shu-na*.

† Watters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 81.

‡ There is some doubt as to whether “this” means the capital or a secondary site not far from the latter.

§ Beal’s *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. ii., pp. 77-80.

Chan-shu-na of Hiuen Tsang and the *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* or *T'u-po-ho-lo* of the Tibetan invaders.

The northerly distance from these two sites to the Nepal capital is, as to be expected, very much less than that recorded by Hiuen Tsang. For the native conception of distances amongst mountains, on which the pilgrim's estimate is based, is dependent more on the *time* taken for the journey than the actually measured road distance. Thus, I have personally and repeatedly found on asking Nepalese hill-men what the distance was of a particular mountain—say, one whose summit was 3 miles off in a direct line—that I received the reply, "It is 15 miles going up, but only 5 miles coming down!" Now, the map-distance of the Nepal capital from Jaynagar is over 90 miles in a direct line across the hill-tops; but by the track will be about 120 miles, or from the alternative site lower down the road near Darbhanga, about 150 miles, which is sufficiently near the pilgrim's estimate for a hilly district.

This Nepal-Patna road, which was the recognized route in Hiuen Tsang's day* was, *a priori*, the route which would be taken ten years later by the Tibetan army, especially as upon it stood the capital of this part of India. This conjecture is confirmed by finding that it was obviously this capital which was the scene of the greatest battle, as recorded in the Chinese annals.

IDENTITY OF THE CHIEF CAPITAL STORMED AND SEAT OF THE GREATEST BATTLE.

The strategical situation of the capital of this border Indian kingdom of Tīrhūt, upon the high-road which had to be traversed by the invading army bound for Magadha and the richer states of Mid-India, made that capital inevitably the first stronghold likely to be stormed, even had a more direct road to Magadha been available. All

* The road to Nepal west of this *via* Sitamarhi (itself a traditional capital of Mithilā) runs too directly northwards, and is too short to satisfy the pilgrim's description.

the more would it be so if, as seems to me probable, it was within this State that the Chinese envoy was plundered whilst on his way homewards; for we are told that "under cover of the night he escaped into Tibetan [i.e., Nepal] territory,"* thereby implying that Nepal was near at hand.

Indeed, upon closer examination, I find that this ancient capital of Tirthūt, described by Hiuen Tsang, appears to be the hitherto elusive "*Ch'a-po-ho-lo*" or *T'u-po-ho-lo* of the Chinese records, where the first and greatest battle was fought, and the location of which has been suggested in tracts lying so far apart as Assam and Delhi!

The name of the town where the first battle was fought is not mentioned in the "Old" T'ang History (see text, p. 40); the place is there called (at least in the current translations) "the capital of Central (i.e., Mid-) India," which obviously should read "*a* capital of Mid-India"—for it would have taken an army from Nepal several months to march to Kanauj in Northern India (see map), where Harsha's Imperial capital stood, and on the way passing through the many states would have to fight many battles. In the subsequent sentence it is called merely "the town"; but the reference to the Gandaki River, as barring the way of the invaders beyond the captured town, places the latter to *the north of the Gandak with absolute certainty*.

Its name is given in the New T'ang History, which calls it "the town of *Ch'a-po-ho-lo*" or *T'u-po-ho-lo* (see text, p. 40), and this account nowhere calls it a "capital," nor locates it in "Mid-India"—the country is merely called "India" (*Tien-chu*). It also states that at the capture of the town, "10,000 persons were drowned in the streams,"† This agrees with the Old History, which says, "10,000 fell into the water and were drowned." The inference, topographically, is that the town stood upon a river, or rather, as we will presently see, *two rivers*.

A further important geographical indication is supplied

* P. 41, col. 2.

† "Les flots."

by the statement: "O-lo-no-shun left the town and fled, and, reforming his dispersed troops, returned to offer battle. Shih-jen took him prisoner, decapitating a thousand persons at the time; the others, who had charge of the women of the King, barred the passage of the River K'ien-t'ō-Wei [± the Gandaki]." This shows unequivocably that the Gandaki River lay on the Indian side of the invading army, and that therefore the captured town stood to the NORTH of the Gandaki.

Another geographical indication is furnished by a chapter of the T'ang History, entitled "General Notice on India," where it is stated "the capital of all India, called Ch'a-po-ho-lo or T'u-po-ho-lo, is situated on the bank of the River Ka-pi-li."* Here the compilers in China, several centuries later, have magnified this town, the capital of a provincial kingdom, into the Imperial capital, and confused it with the State of Kapitha or Kampila on the Upper Ganges near Kanauj.

Now the river upon which the ancient capital of Vrij or Tirhüt (upon the Nepal-Patna road) stood was the river specially sanctified by the famous legend of Buddha's miraculous conversion of Kapitha, a Brahman who had been transmigrated into a fish-monster who inhabited the river. And Mr. Watters quotes a Chinese version of the story which gives his name as Ka-p'i-lo.† The Chinese geographical accounts of ancient India are essentially descriptive of Buddhist shrines, so that legendary incidents sometimes are impressed on the nomenclature. The river inhabited by "Ka-p'i-lo," or Kapitha, may be supposed to have gone at times by the name of that famous Brahmin of this locality—possibly a legendary king—who was here miraculously converted by Buddha.‡

* Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 307.

† In the *Ka-p'i-lo p'en-sheng ching*, quoted in the 14th *Chuan* of the *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya* (Watters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 82).

‡ It seems to me possible that it is intended to refer to the ancient Brahmanical sage Kapila. The legend states that he "formerly had been a bad proud Brahmin through conceit in his learning" (Watters, *op. cit.*,

As a fact, the modern river which we find at this part of the ancient Nepal-Patna road is called at the present day *Kamla*, which may conceivably be a corruption of *Kapila*, as the labials *m* and *p* are interchangeable in the vernaculars. This river rises in the Outer Himalayas, about eighty miles distant (see map), and has sufficient volume during the greater part of the year to be called a "great river," as the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang termed it. It is a main feeder of the "*Trisul Ganga*," which may have misled a later Chinese commentator to confuse it with the Ganges.*

The relative position of the river to the town is not specified by the pilgrim, but his first reference to the shrines of the place infers that the river ran along the north border of the town. (See attached plan on corner of map, on which I have provisionally projected these positions.) He says :

"To the north-east of the great river is a monastery. . . . To the west of this, on the river-side, is a *stūpa* above 30 feet high, with a long reach of the river to its south. This *stūpa* is at the spot where the Buddha once converted certain fishermen in the following circumstances: . . ." (here follows the account of the Brahmin *Kapitha* or *Kā-p'i-lo*).†

The situation here is well adapted for a colony of fishermen. It is only about 150 feet above sea-level on the rich alluvial plain, which is intersected by chains of marshes and lakes—the old channels of the "dead" rivers, abound-

vol. ii., p. 82). Kapila's hermitage is now located by the Brahmins vaguely at Haridwar, and has thus given to the Ganges the epithet of "Kapila-dhārā," or "Holder of Kapila."

* Ma Tuan-lin, quoted by M. Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 309, says "the capital (of India) is near the River *Heng-ho* (Ganges), which also is called the *Kapili* River." This may be a confusion between the Tirhüt "Kapilo," or Kapitha, and the Kapitha country of the Ganges towards Haridwar (see foregoing note). Still another Kapili is mentioned as having sent an embassy to China in A.D. 428. The King's name was "Moon-beloved" (Chandrapriya), and his capital stood "on the side of a lake to the east of a river, and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks" (Watters, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898, p. 540; cf. also Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 307).

† Watters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 82.

ing in fish. It would be all the better fitted for a fishing colony by reason of the other great river on the south of the town, to which the town seems to have extended. (See plan.) For the location of the town seems to be still further fixed by another statement in the T'ang History, which says "the capital [of "Mid"-India] is 70 *li* in circuit, and approaches the River *Shan-lien*."* There is doubt as to whether this applies to *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* or to *Ka-pi-lo* of the northern Ganges, as no name is mentioned. If it does apply to the former it seems to me to explain the relationship between the two names *Chan-shu-na* and *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* as applied to the same town. *Chan-shu-na* was the external ancient city, "in a ruined state," 70 *li* (i.e., about 11 miles) in circuit, and occupying the whole space *between* the two great rivers, whilst *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* would be the "walled city" facing the "Kapila" River, which was stormed by the Tibetan troops. The pilgrim's description reads:

"The chief city [of Tirhüt or Vriji] is called *Chan-shu-na*. It is in a ruinous state, and the old walled city, which is like a country town, had a population of over 3,000 families."†

A further record says that this river (*Shan-lien*) was so sacred that its banks displayed more *stūpas* even than Benares.‡

This *Shan-lien* River, it seems to me, might possibly be identified with the "Bagmati," or *Vakmati*, not only by reason of its geographical position and topographical features and the number of its sacred *stūpas*, but also by its name, which seems possibly to be a Chinese translation of

* Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 307, n.

† Watters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 81.

‡ The *Si-yu-ki* (says M. Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 323) states: "Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, in the kingdom of *Po-lo-nai* (Benares), made 700 *stūpas*. In series with this, what the piety of other saints has raised is countless. There are more than a thousand constructed on the river *Shan-lien*." The *Si-yu-ki* was based partly on Hiuen-ts'e's notes, and he was familiar with the Bagmati, which this river may be; as Benares itself stands upon the Ganges, it could scarcely be that river which is referred to.

the word "Vakmati," with reference to the legendary origin of that river. To consider each of these points separately:

Topographically, the Bagmati here approaches within four or five miles of the Kamla (=Kapila ?), so as to satisfy the description of the capital having a large fishing settlement between the two rivers and its outskirts approaching the second river. The river now flowing here is called the "Little Bagmati," as the main stream of the Bagmati is at present many miles to the south ; but this was formerly the main channel (as can be traced by links of the dead river), at the time when the river flowed past Sitamarhi, another ancient capital of Tīrhūt or Mithilā to the west of this.

The sacred reputation of the Bagmati amongst both the Nepalese and the plains people is scarcely, if at all, inferior to that of the Ganges. It is the river of the Kathmandu Valley, which is one of the *Dharmas*, or "holy lands" of Buddhist and Hindu pilgrimage.* At the principal Buddhist shrines, the great *stūpas* of Sva-Yambhu and Kas'or, as described in my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 315-317, it was, and still to some extent is, the practice to offer votive *stūpas* in immense numbers, as at Bodh-Gaya and Benares. In this regard also I would here mention the Asokan pillar, which I exhumed about sixty miles south-east of this position,† on a site to which it had been removed from its original position, but connected with the waterway of this river, which by its old channels lower down forms a network with the eastern Tīrhūt rivers and the Ganges.

Etymologically, the two names, I find, are practically identical, so as to suggest that the Chinese form *Shan-lien*, may be intended as a translation of the word *Bagmati* or

* Cf. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton's *Nepal*, p. 192.

† At Sikligarh, in Puraniya District. My excavation showed that it was the uninscribed upper end, 18 feet long, of an Asokan pillar, which had been removed for use as a *sati* pillar, and at its base I found a gold Indo-Scythian coin of Vāsudeva (A.D. first to second century) (see *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1890, pp. 47-49).

Bagmati. The current legend of the origin of this river preserves the memory of its undoubtedly true geological history, namely, that the Valley of Kathmandu from which the river issues was originally a great lake until a passage was cleft through its south wall, the "Lama Dangra" range for the escape of this river, which drained off the waters of the lake, and this threw open the rich alluvial bed for the habitation of man. The grateful inhabitants of the desiccated valley ascribe this cleavage of the mountain to a divinity, the Buddhists considering him to be Manjusri, the Buddhist deity of "Speech" or *Vāk* or *Kāch*, who cleft the passage with his flaming sword (which his image represent him as wielding), whilst the Hinduised Gorkhas are said to worship his image in the Matsyendranāth* temple (a mixed Brahmin and Buddhist fane) as the river goddess Saraswati, the Brahmanical goddess of Speech. Thus the river as the product of this divinity would receive the epithet of "*Vākmati*"—i.e., *Bākmati* or Bagmati—at the hands of the priests of both religions, and as a fact this is a recognized etymology of the name as locally current in Nepal.[†]

The spirit of the lake is still the favourite object of popular worship in the valley. According to the myth, the spirit was a serpent or dragon who resided in the depths of the waters, and as these were drawn off a sacred pool was built for him near Kathmandu and also in a cave-temple at the great *stūpa* of Sva-yambhu on the hill, which was formerly an island in the lake.[‡] But neither in the name of the river nor in the legends regarding it[§] did I find any

* This name suggests to me a possible reference to the fish-monster miracle of Buddha before mentioned; which in that case would make the Kapila River identical with the Shan-lien or Bagmati, and place the capital at Sitamarhi or thereabouts.

† Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 118, n., also found this meaning current in his day.

‡ This serpent nowadays is identified with the great king of serpents Karkota (see my article on *Nāga-rājās*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 101; also Buchanan-Hamilton's *Nepal*, p. 206).

§ Some of the place-names along the course of the river I found to present a suggestively phonetic source for the name. For about eighty

name resembling that applied by the Chinese to the great river in its question—namely, *Shan-lien*.

As I observed that the Chinese characters for *Shan-lien* contained the ideogram for "spirit," I referred the word to Professor Parker, who notes that "the meanings of the complete characters are 'Buddhistic contemplation,' 'worship (of Earth),' and 'abdicate': the sounds were likely to be, at that early date, *yan-ren* or *jan-yan*."^{*} Now the Sanskrit dictionaries give as a derivative of *Bak* or *Vāk* ("speech"); *Bāgar* as "a sage one desirous of final emancipation"; also *Bāgasī*, "the sword of penetrating speech."

These topographical identifications, then, consistently confirming each other, satisfy the records in placing the elusive town of the first great Tibetan battle—namely, *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* or *T'u-po-ho-lo*, without doubt in the north-eastern portion of Tirkūt. They also place the two other decisive battles, that at which the Indian king was taken prisoner, and that in which all his retainers and property were captured, within the narrow tract, near Darbangha, lying between the rivers, now called the "Little" Bagmati, by the "Old" Gandak. The exact position of the ancient capital within this area must remain for the present undecided until a detailed examination of the tract be undertaken in the light of my indications now supplied. The whole of this neighbourhood near Darbangha town, along the banks of the old channels of these three rivers, the Kamla, the Bagmati, and the "Old" Gandak (*Bur Gan-*

miles of its course, after issuing from the hills, it is bordered on the east by the old *parganna* of *Samraon* or *Simraun*, whilst on the west it is bounded for about fifty miles by the Nepalese *parganna* or district of *Sarlāhi*; but in neither case could I find that these place-names were ever applied to the river, nor were the *Chandan* Mountains near its source associated with its name.

* This suggests to me that the word after all may be a phonetic attempt to reproduce the word *Gāṅga* or "Ganges," and that the *Shan-lien* river was not related to *Ch'a-po-ho-lo* or Tirkūt, but referred to the Kapila or Kampila of Upper India. Its identity is not really essential to our present inquiry.

dakī), from Katra (Akbarpur) on the west, to Jaynagar* on the north, demands exploration. The latter two places contain extensive unexamined ruins of old walled forts and ancient buildings, though a site between these two would better satisfy the distance recorded by the pilgrim, and the conditions for a large fishing population, such as existed at the capital.

This location of the city between the two great rivers, the Kamla and Bagmati, would also account for the large numbers drowned in the first battle during the attack on the town: "nearly 10,000 fell into the water, and were drowned in the streams" (see map and plan).

The second battle in which the Indian King made a fresh stand, "reforming his dispersed troops returned to offer battle" and was taken prisoner, would doubtless be upon the south bank of the Bagmati, south of the captured town (see map and plan).

The final and decisive battle in which the remaining Indian forces were shattered, and the entire camp and followers captured, is expressly stated to have occurred where the remaining Indian troops "barred the passage of the *K'ien-to'-wei*"—i.e., the Gandaki. This would be at a point on the Gandaki now called appropriately the "Old" Gandaki (*Bur Gandaki*), one or two days march south of the site of the second battle. In favour of the view that at the period of this invasion the main waters of that river flowed in this eastern channel, I would point to the fact that the pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who is generally so careful

* In this neighbourhood ruins at "Bindras" are noted in the *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*. Mr. V. A. Smith considers this a possible site for the old capital of *Chansuna*, and has elicited the information that the ruins are at Baligarh or Kshēmāgarh, some sixteen miles north of Madhubani, and that the ramparts are still 10 feet high (Watters, *op. cit.*, ii. App., 340). Janakpur, about sixteen miles north of this, within the present Nepal frontier, was, from the similarity of its name and its direction, proposed by V. St. Martin, in Julien's *Hionen Tsang*, for *Chansuna*, but it is far away from any large river, and, although it is reputed to have been a capital of King Janak, it is reported by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton (*Nepal*, pp. 45, 161) to possess no ancient remains.

to record all the great rivers which he met, makes no reference whatever to the Gandaki in coming from the south-west to the famous city of Vaisali, ten years before. This would imply that that river was at that time flowing far to the east.*

DURATION OF TIBETAN RELATIONS WITH MEDIEVAL INDIA.

Although almost immediately after the second decisive battle, the captured king was carried off to the Chinese capital by the now avenged Chinese envoy in person, the invasion, despite the departure of the latter, appears to have continued. The country beyond Tîrhût, across the Ganges, Magadha, and a great part of the late King Harsha's empire, was manifestly occupied, for it is recorded that 580 walled towns submitted, an operation which must have taken a long time. The reference by the pilgrim to the existence of *walled* towns in the adjoining province of Magadha at that period is interesting. It says that in times of peace "there were few inhabitants in the *walled cities*, but the other towns were well peopled."

Some guarantee to maintain peace relations was doubtless extracted by the Tibetans from the several petty kings of India in the form of tribute or otherwise. The powerful king of Eastern India and Assam, or his son, who had attended Harsha's great State assemblages a few years before, as described by Hiuen Tsang, sent supplies for commissariat and transport, etc. (see p. 41). We find that nine years later, in 657, Hiuen-ts'e again returned to India by way of Tibet and Nepal on an official religious mission to offer robes (*Kashâya*) at the sacred Buddhist shrines.

* The fact that no mention of the Gandaki is made in his description of the road from Ananda's *stûpa* to Nepal via Tîrhût (*Vriji*) does not invalidate this conjecture, for it is generally held that Hiuen Tsang did not himself journey from Ananda's *stûpa* to Nepal, but merely described the journey from hearsay, on striking the Nepal route on his way to Vaisala, to the north of Patna. For it is not recorded in his personal diary *Life* that he visited *Vriji* or *Nepal*, though he spent certainly a long time at Vaisala.

Not only was he not molested, but he made a leisurely progress through Mid-India as an honoured guest of the various provincial sovereigns, and passed on to Northern India, and thence over the Pamirs back to China by way of Turkestan. This suggests some Tibeto-Chinese suzerainty.

The fate of the captive Indian King ("O-lo-na-shun," *Arjuna*, or *Arjunaswa*?) is not known; he appears to have been treated with honour, and even possibly, I think, reinstated in India, for a statue of him was erected at the entrance to the Imperial tombs amongst the most renowned feudatories of the Celestial Empire.* The fact that "the wives and sons of the king, a camp of 10,000 persons, and all sorts of domestic animals were captured near at hand on the bank of the Gandaki river (p. 41), implies, to my mind, that he was the local king of Tirhüt.

Up till A.D. 703 Tibet manifestly retained some authority over part of India, probably only Tirhüt, the western portion of which was mainly peopled by the semi-mongoloid Licchavi tribe, who held Nepal, subject to Tibet, for we read in the Chinese annals† in that year, "The subject states on the southern border of T'ufan (Tibet), [namely] Nepal, and Po'lomen (India),‡ both revolted, and the *tsanp'u* (= the king of Tibet) went himself to punish them, but died during the war."

The edict of A.D. 782, which I discovered in Lhasa,§ states: "India, since cast out after the fight rules [still?] . . . the entire western direction." This reference is consistent with the exercise of some authority over Tirhüt and the border States. Over Nepal, the Tibetans appears to have retained their authority until the break-up of the Tibetan monarchy in the middle of the ninth century, upon the ruins of which ultimately arose the rule of the priest-kings of Sakyia and Lhasa.

* S. Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 301.

† Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 456.

‡ Literally, "country of the Brahmins."

§ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 930, etc.

EFFECT OF THE INVASION ON TIBET.

The effect on Tibet of this intimate contact with India, bloodstained though it was at its beginning, was profoundly civilizing. Indeed, it is to the intimate relations thus established, so it seems to me, that Tibet probably owes not only her Buddhism in great measure, but also her written language.

At the time of this invasion Tibet was certainly not a Buddhist country,* nor did she actually become one until about 150 years later. Even the vernacular histories do not place these two great events—the introduction of Buddhism and of writing—before the epoch-making reign of the king of this invasion, Srong-tsan. And although these histories place these events a few years earlier in the reign of this king, about the time of his marriage with the Chinese princess (in A.D. 641), I have found them to be so untrustworthy in regard to the known dates and events of this king's reign, that their slight difference of a few years in this respect may be set aside.†

In the conversion of this warlike king to Buddhism, if he really were converted, his two wives, the Nepalese and Chinese princesses, have been credited in the histories with playing the leading part ;‡ but in my opinion the most potent factor of all was probably this invasion and the political relations which followed it.

So, too, in regard to the introduction of writing to Tibet. Certainly up till the year A.D. 640 the Tibetan language does not appear to have been reduced to writing ; and the so-called "Tibetan" letters of the present day are merely a reproduction of the Indian alphabet, in the form which was

* *My Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 18-24.

† Thus these Tibetan histories make this very king to have been about thirty years older than he actually was, and place his death fifty to sixty years later than the event itself, which is fixed with absolute precision in the Chinese annals (see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 24).

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

current only in Mid-India about the middle of the seventh century*—that is to say, at the epoch of this invasion.

It thus seems to me probable that the introduction of writing into Tibet also occurred during this invasion, and as a direct result of this contact with Indian civilization.

* My *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 22 *et seq.*; also my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 940-946.

THE MOSLEM CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND REFORMS IN TURKEY, PERSIA, AND INDIA.*

By SYED ABDUL MAJID.

THE wave of awakening which is now passing over the world has not left the Moslems undisturbed. In Turkey the advent of the New Era has raised grave questions regarding the Caliphate and the legality of the constitutional form of Government. Opinions are divided on the point whether the ex-Sultan still continues *de jure* a Caliph, and whether the present Government is consistent with Islamic laws. In India the reforms which allot separate seats to the Mohammadans have given rise to certain misgivings. It is essential that these points should be closely examined for several reasons. First, the unanimous recognition of a Caliph is a necessary factor in the life of the Moslems. Secondly, to see whether progress is sanctioned by Islam. Thirdly, co-operation of all peoples of India with the Government of the country is indispensable for her peaceful economic development, and any measure which would estrange any of her people will be detrimental to her interests. Much light might be thrown upon these points by the examination of the Moslem constitutional theory which necessarily entails the examination of the Caliphate.

In the Near East this will show how far the Caliphate is affected by the present situation, while in India it will

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

demonstrate whether the association of the Moslems with the Government of the country is of any real value. The examination of the doctrine of the Caliphate will be followed by its comparison with the English constitutional theory and its bearings upon the points under consideration.

The Caliphate is an authority vested in the person of the one who represents the Prophet in his dual capacity of defender of the faith and governor of the world. It has been determined by the accord of the Moslems that it is obligatory on their part to elect a Caliph who will exercise authority over them all. The Kharajites, represented by Al-Asam, hold that it is optional, while the Shias, both of the Ismailia and Imamia schools, regard it as not only clothed with an obligatory character, but also in accordance with the will of God, who is under an obligation to appoint an Imam. Neither of these views appear to be correct ; the former because it is directly opposed to what has already been defined by the accord of the Moslems ; the latter because it lays down an obligation which He never undertook to fulfil.

Whether this obligatory character of the Caliphate is based upon reason or law has been a fruitful source of discussion. Those of the Motazella school regard it as based upon reason. The election of a chief is necessary for the management of the affairs of the State as well as to safeguard and settle the civil rights of the citizens ; on the other hand, those of the school of Abul Hassan Al-Ashari base it purely on law. The conditions of the secular world at best point only to the necessity of appointing someone to look after them, but not to the appointment of a Caliph, a part of whose duties is religious in its character. The law, on the contrary, invests that one with the functions of governor who is given powers in spiritual matters. The Koran lays down : "O believers, obey God and obey the Prophet and those whom you appoint to command." The Prophet is reported to have said : "Of those who will govern after me, there will be some good, who will govern

with goodness ; there will be some who will be wicked and will govern with perversity. Listen to them, and obey them in all that conforms to the law. If they conduct themselves well, the merit will be for you and for them. If they conduct themselves badly, the merit is for you and the demerit will be for them." This is supported by all the jurists of the orthodox school.

The obligatory character of the Caliphate being thus established, it remains to consider the qualifications of the electors and the person elected to the Caliphate.

In order to exercise the power of electors, the people must be possessed of three qualifications. First, they must be just, in the widest sense of the term. Secondly, they must possess the necessary knowledge of the things for which the Caliph is elected. Thirdly, they must be gifted with sagacity and intelligence enough to choose the best man from the point of view of energy and management of affairs. It is evident that property, the basis of suffrage in the West, is not a necessary qualification. The right to vote is extended alike to those who are domiciled in a city or in a province. Custom alone, however, determines priority in the exercise of the right to vote and to elect.

There are seven qualifications the possession of which are conditions precedent to anyone being elected as a Caliph. He must be just in the widest acceptation of the term, and should possess sufficient knowledge of sciences to be able to take part in the determination of the points submitted to him for opinion. His sense of hearing, of sight and speech, must be good enough to enable him to discharge all the duties habitually, and the members of his body in such a condition as to be free from defects of impediment to movement. He must be endowed with that degree of sagacity which is necessary for governing the people and directing the affairs of the State, and that degree of courage and bravery which is necessary for protecting the Moslem territories.

The seventh qualification—that of lineage—requires

special attention. The orthodox school confines the Caliphate to the tribe of Quoreish, and bases its determination on two traditions. Abu Bekr, the first Caliph, is reported to have heard from the Prophet: "The Caliphs must be of the tribe of Quoreish." The second tradition is that in which Mohammad is reported to have said to the Ansars, the people of Medina: "Give priority to the Quoreishites, and do not claim it, the Caliphate, for yourselves." These traditions are mentioned by authorities like Ibn Khaldum, the Radd, and the Eshah.

The Shias, on the other hand, declare that a Caliph must not only be of the tribe of Quoreish, but also of the house of Mohammad—that is to say, descendant of Bani Hashim.

Those of the Motazella and Kharajaite schools throw it open to all Moslems, and base their conclusion upon the tradition, "You must listen and obey even though the chief be an Abyssinian slave." This is supported by no less an authority than Dhirar ibn Amr.

Without assuming the authority to decide among these conflicting doctrines, it appears to me that the Shia doctrine is quite consistent with their partiality for the House of Bani Hashim, and it is in conformity with this view of the Caliphate that Abu Bekr, who belonged to the House of Taim, is not recognized as having been a Caliph by right. The doctrine of the orthodox school, based as it is on great authorities, is narrow, and excludes all but the Quoreishites. This savours of the same reason as actuated the patricians to keep the plebs at arm's length in Rome. The last view is more in consonance with equity. A faith of which the corner-stone is humanity and equality, which breaks through all the Shibboleths, and which places Bilal, a negro slave who was being dragged through the streets of Medina on terms of equality with any of the highest social standing, can hardly be so parochial as to exclude all but those of the House of Mohammad, or so narrow as to shut out all except the Quoreishites. To bring one within the pale of Islam, to extend the equality, and then to deny

the legitimate fruit of it, seems hardly consistent with Moslem equity.

There are three elements in the contract of the Caliphate, viz., (1) Offer (*Ijab*), (2) Acceptance (*Kabul*) of the authority, (3) Homage (*Baiat*) rendered by the individuals. The importance of each of the elements will be apparent as we proceed, while the addition of a third element, unlike any other contract, will appear as a safeguard in certain cases.

There are two modes of concluding the contract of Caliphate. First, by election made by persons capable of contractual obligations; secondly, by nomination made by the preceding Caliph as representing the people at large.

Diversity of opinion exists as to the number of electors. One school lays it down that all capable of entering into contractual obligations should take part in the election, in order to show general consent regarding the authority of the Caliph; but to this rule is opposed the election of Abu Bekr, who was elected only by those who were present.

The other school limits the number of electors to five, all acting together or through a spokesman. This is supported by the validity of the election of Abu Bekr, who received the homage of Omar ibnul Khattab, Abu Obeida ibnul Jarrah, Ousseid, Bekr bin Saad and Salim.

Those who represent the school of Kufa limit the number to three electors. They base this limitation upon the analogy of one judge and two witnesses, who alone are essential to the validity of a decision. There are others who take the extreme view and reduce the number of electors to the convenient number of one. They regard the election as binding in the same way as a judgment passed by one judge, and support it by the election of Ali. Abbas rendered homage to Ali, and the nation accepted it as valid.

The second precedent is that of the famous conclave composed of six persons established by Omar. It was laid down that five of the conclave should elect one of

them as Caliph. This view is supported by the generality of jurists and theologians of the Basora school.

The candidates must be nominated. The majority of votes then settles the election. The consent of the candidate is necessary. If he accepts the result, which is tantamount to an offer, people are bound to do him homage. If he refuses, the next candidate will be elected. Equality of votes gives way to age, and equality of age makes room for learning. If equality occurs in all respects, according to some authority a lot is to be cast; according to others the people are at liberty to do homage to either.

As soon as these formalities for election are gone through, the contract is complete, absolute, and conclusive, even though the choice falls upon one less fitted for the post. Jahiz of the Motazella school maintains that the conclusion of the contract in favour of the less fitted without valid reasons is not absolute, as people are allowed to choose only the best. Most of the jurists say otherwise on the analogy of the appointment of one as judge in presence of one better fitted. The question arises whether mere possession of good qualities will entitle one to receive homage. One school answers in the affirmative, while the other school regards election and appointment as necessary.

There can only be one Caliph. In cases of conflict the one elected by the people in whose midst the preceding Caliphate was situated has a prior claim; or one of the two Caliphs elect should waive his rights in favour of the other in order to safeguard safety and public order. The better opinion is that the one who receives the homage first should have preference. If priority of homage cannot be determined, the election is void, and a fresh election is necessary.

The other way in which the formation of the contract can take place is by disposition by the preceding Caliph. This has been sanctioned by the accord of the Moslems, and supported by two precedents of undoubted authority.

The first precedent is the appointment of Omar by Abu Bekr. The authority created by this disposition was recog-

nized as legitimate by the Moslems at large. The second precedent is the creation by Omar of a conclave for the election of a Caliph. The illustrious persons of the age regarded it as valid. Ali said to Abbas : "The question of the highest importance is the affairs of Islam, and I do not believe in abstaining from it." In the eye of the law this mode of election is equally valid and regular with the one in which the people take an active part.

The disposition by the Caliph is equivalent to an offer. It is, therefore, necessary that it must be accepted by the beneficiary. As the Caliph so acting acts on behalf of the nation, he cannot revoke his disposition, unless there appears a flaw in the beneficiary which might endanger the stability of the State.

Does the Caliph represent God or the Prophet on earth ? This is answered by the opinion of Abu Bekr. "I am not a Caliph of God," he said, "but that of the Messenger of God." People used to call Omar the Caliph of the Caliph of the Prophet, and afterwards changed it to Amirul Momanin (Commander of the Faithful).

It is obligatory on the part of the people to give up the management of the general interests to the Caliph. Any opposition or separate action is forbidden, so that he may be able to safeguard the complex interests confided to him unfettered. They are bound to obey and to help him in carrying on the affairs of the State ; but no personal knowledge of him is necessary, although Ibn Jaries holds a view to the contrary.

Many are the duties of the Caliph. He must defend the faith, provide for the execution of judicial decisions, maintain order and public safety, protect life, honour of women, and property, in such a way that persons can go wherever they choose without any let or hindrance ; apply the criminal laws, defend the frontier, and carry on wars. He is vested with the power to collect taxes, alms and escheats, regulate expenditure, and fix the salaries payable in time neither in advance nor with delay. He is empowered to

appoint the functionaries, and to look to the administration of finance. Agreeably to the traditions that "each of you is a shepherd, and each of you is responsible for your flock," the Caliph is under a duty to apply himself personally to the affairs of the State.

The Caliphate is a contract bilateral in its nature. Obedience on one side connotes duties on the other. There are two ways in which the Caliphate comes to an end, absolving the people from allegiance. They are (1) moral defect, destroying in the Caliph the quality of being just and pious; (2) physical defect.

There are two kinds of moral defect: First, impiety the effect of which is complete obedience to passions. Second, the impiety by which he is rendered a prey to doubt. The effect of the first kind of impiety is that he commits forbidden acts, delights in shameless actions, and takes passions as his guide and master. Further, he ceases to be just. This concludes the contract, rendering a fresh one essential. Mere repentance is useless as it is unilateral.

A difference of opinion exists on this point. One school of jurists holds that such a course of conduct, *ipso jure*, deprives the Caliph of his authority; this is judicially sound. The Caliphate is a contract, and therefore the breach of it will put an end to it. The second view is that such circumstances do not cause but only create liability to forfeiture. Sudden cessation of the supreme authority might give rise to grave danger. As happened in England in 1688, everybody would be absolved from allegiance, and all administrative and judicial functions would be paralyzed. It appears reasonable that a formal declaration divesting the Caliph of authority should be made. This is the more approved and generally accepted view.

The impiety of the second kind consists in holding dogmas which are contrary to the principles of Islam. Certain jurists regard this as an obstacle to the continuance of the Caliphate, but those of the Basora school deem it no impediment. The difference is due to the one school

taking impious thoughts regarding God and the Prophet into account, whilst the other takes the doubts concerning the Prophet only.

Of physical defects which put an end to the contract of the Caliphate, there are three kinds: (1) Defects of the senses; (2) defects of the members; and (3) loss of the liberty of action.

Permanent loss of reason and total loss of sight operate as forfeiture, as does the loss of members interfering with the discharge of the duties of the Caliph in matters of national importance. The loss of the liberty of action proceeding from a subordinate assuming authority without delegation renders the Caliphate liable to forfeiture. If this happens in consequence of the Caliph falling a prisoner in the hands of a non-Moslem enemy, there being no hope of deliverance in spite of all endeavours to set him free, a new Caliph can validly be elected. So can he be lawfully elected if the Moslem Schismatic under the circumstances elect a Caliph.

It is now easy to see that the Moslem constitutional theory is based upon the considerations of democracy. The Caliphate is controlled by the principle of election. The Caliph has to be elected, and is bound to act in conformity with certain principles, the non-observance of which deprives him of the right to command obedience. The people, on the other hand, are absolved from obedience as soon as he acts contrary to the dictates of his duty. Thus the Caliph and the people are bound to each other by the terms of the agreement, and any conduct contrary to it will be attended by penalties on either side. In order to see how far it tallies with the English constitutional theory, and how far it may have influenced it, we shall consider the doctrine of Social Contract as propounded by Hobbes and Locke in England and Rousseau in France. To understand it clearly, it seems necessary that a brief statement as to how these great philosophers arrive at their theory should be made.

Hobbes' Man in the state of nature was both moral and intellectual. The mere fact of being born a man endowed him with intellectual powers; but he was an egoist, and self was the most dominant factor in his character. He was moved to activities by considerations of self, its enlargements and gratifications, and its appetites, desires, and passions. He was a stranger to any disinterested motives. Further, all men in the opinion of Hobbes were originally equal, and when difference arose it was due to the accidents of education.

Dead to magnanimity and always in pursuit of selfish ends, such men are not likely to forego their opportunities. "They become enemies and in the way to their ends which is principally their own conservation, endeavour to destroy and subdue one another." Thus, "if one man plant, sow, build, or possess, a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come with united forces (it being their interest, in spite of their grief in each other's company to unite for aggression), and take from him not only the fruit of his labour, but also his liberty, or even his life." "Diffidence" or distrust, a state of constant fear, vigilance, and cunning wiles, will sway everybody. Makeshifts like the Articles of Peace, or a union of a certain number to conserve the peace, are quite within the bounds of possibility; but they can, after all, afford only temporary protection. A permanent coercive power of the nature of a government would appear an absolute necessity.

The creation of such a coercive power can be effected only in one way. With the concurrence of all, one man or one assembly must be clothed with all powers necessary "to reduce all their wills by plurality of voices to one will." "They" will thus "appoint one man or assembly of men to bear their person; and everyone to own and acknowledge himself to be the author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person shall act or cause to be acted in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills everyone to his will and their

judgment to his judgment." This is affected by "covenants of every man with every man. . . . As if every man should say to every man 'I authorize and give up my rights of governing myself to this man or to this assembly of men on this condition that thou give up thy rights to him and authorize all his acts in like manner.'" Thus the State is created to insure peace and guarantee safety. This State is the sovereign and everybody else is the subject.

By this delegation of authority the people deprive themselves of the power of subsequent creation or alteration without the consent of the Sovereign whom they must obey, and who cannot be interfered with even though he may at times act arbitrarily. The Sovereign is unfettered by any covenant, express or tacit. He is the Sovereign, and therefore any limitation of his power will be contradictory. He represents the people, and so any compact on his part would mean a compact with his own self, something inconsistent! He is the fountain-head of law, and therefore his acts are never illegal, though sometimes contrary to the laws of Nature or equity. He can make war or conclude peace, make laws respecting property, levy taxes, take the supreme command of the army and choose his councillors, magistrates, and ministers. He has power to adopt means to keep the peace and defend the country, confer honour and dignities, and punish the guilty.

The greatest of English philosophers, Locke, is at one with Hobbes in regarding men as once living in the state of nature without any civil government to regulate their actions, and the social contract or compact putting an end to that state of affairs. He advances three reasons for the origin of civil government. "First, the want of an established, settled, known law received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies between them." Secondly, "In the state of Nature there does not exist a known and different judge with authority

to determine differences according to established settled laws. Everyone is at once judge and executioner of the law of Nature, and passion and revenge will surely carry them too far in their own cases." On the other hand "negligence and unconcernedness make them too remiss in other men's." Thirdly, it is seldom possible for a single individual to enforce his right against his wrongdoer. The offenders, it is certain, "will seldom fail wherever they are able by force to make their injustice good." They will realize the force of these considerations, and will wish for something more permanent and stable. They will unanimously agree to appoint a magistrate, delegated with powers to punish and subordinate their freedom to such laws as would be framed by the common consent of the individual. A stable government or, in other words, a political or civil society will spring into existence, putting an end to the state of Nature. This will be the origin of the Social Contract.

The supreme power is undoubtedly the legislature thus brought into being. It can make or unmake laws, but must aim at the public weal. Powerful as it is, it is not absolute. The very nature of contract implies it. No one can give away what does not belong to him. Evidently "the lives, liberties, and possessions" of others are immune, from his control, and so he cannot invest the legislature with powers to interfere with them.

Beyond what is necessary to carry on the government, the legislature cannot tax without the consent of the people. Anything to the contrary will transgress the fundamental law of property, and frustrate the very end for which the government was instituted. The last limitation is that the legislature transfers its function only with the consent of the people. They being "the original source and depositaries of political power," they must agree to any alteration in the government. Thus, if it is vested in the King and the Parliament, it cannot be altered without the consent of the people.

Locke thought that the people were supreme, could change the government at will, and could arm anybody to legislate for them. To Rousseau the supremacy of the people was acceptable, but the delegation of the power to legislate repugnant. The people themselves were the safest depositaries of this power, and any delegation of this power will necessarily make the agent more powerful than the principal. Something contrary to reason!

Hobbes advocated absolute monarchy. The Sovereign was unfettered, able to do as he chose, even interfere with the fundamental rights of the people who had contracted to submit to his will. Locke favoured limited monarchy. The Sovereign must recognize the fundamental rights of his subjects. They were bound to obey him as long as he respected their primary rights. The contract was bilateral, and so any breach of the terms by any one party absolved the other. He thus defended the legality of the Revolution of 1688. Rousseau agrees with Locke in maintaining the sovereignty of the people, and in asserting their *summa potentia*; he favours "a democracy of the extreme type, in which the law-making power and the sovereignty is in the hands of all."

Such are the various political theories of different schools of thought, the Moslem on one side, the English and the French on the other. Their survey makes it apparent that the doctrine of Locke coincides with that of the Moslem school of thought. Both take sovereignty as a result of a contract; in the one it is the Caliphate, in the other limited monarchy. The Sovereign commands obedience, but is himself bound by certain conditions. According to one school he must be just, while, according to the other school, he must respect the fundamental rights of the subject. A closer examination shows that the quality of being just implies the latter. The subject is absolved from obedience as soon as the breach of the terms of the contract takes place. The contract is bilateral, and its terms must be observed scrupulously by both.

The coincidence of Locke's view with the Moslem constitutional theory must appear strange to the critical student, and cause him to seek for an explanation. There can be but three theories as to the source of the idea which must have influenced Locke. He was either influenced by Hooker, who had written before him, or he was compelled to propound a theory to justify the Revolution of 1688, or he drew upon the Moslem system, by no means unknown to him. It has been pointed out that the doctrine of Social Contract is historically unsound, and that all the governments based upon it, the French or the American, have sprung into being long after this doctrine became known. This assertion leaves out the Moslem constitutional theory and the influence it really exercised upon the governments of various European countries.

There cannot be any doubt that the English Parliament is the Mother of all Parliaments, and perhaps the best. However time-honoured it is at present, the first act on the part of the Sovereign, which gave the stamp of recognition to the rights of the people, was the Magna Charta, 1215. It was followed by the Petition of Right, 1628, and the Bill of Rights, 1689. The Moslem system was much prior in date, as Mohammad of Arabia preached his principles early in the seventh century. Historians are not silent upon the influence which the Moslems exercised upon the world, and the education which they imparted during the Dark Ages. The Arabian school of thought was eagerly studied, and the Arabian fashion faithfully copied. Its influence was so great and of such an enduring nature that we find the philosophy of Aristotle taught through the medium of Latin as translated not from the Greek but the Arabic, and the philosophy of Averroes, a Moslem, taught in the Universities of Bologna and Padua down to the eighteenth century. Far from asserting that the framers of the Great Charter were actually under the influence of the Moslem political theory, the influence which it exercised upon Europe prior to this time raises a presumption that

they might have been. Locke was fully aware of the Moslem idea of polity. In his works there are references to indicate that it was familiar to him. The coincidence, therefore, strongly points to the influence he might have been under.

At this stage of our inquiry three questions present themselves : first, whether the constitutional form of government in Turkey or Persia is consistent with Islamic principles. Secondly, if the present Sultan of Turkey succeeded to the Caliphate. Lastly, what value can be attached to the separate electorate given to the Mohammadans in the reforms just introduced in India. The Moslem constitutional theory is broader than the English. While in full accord with the principles which are the corner-stone of the English constitution, it also lays down the principles of suffrage without property qualification, that is to say, one man one vote, a state of things which might have delighted the heart of Bentham. Pure democracy being the principle underlying the whole system, Islam cannot but recognize any government as fitting which aims as furthering the cause of the people. The constitutional form of government as it exists in Turkey or Persia is fully supported by Islam. The opinion of the Sheikh-ul-Islam in Turkey is in entire accord with the views of the learned in Mohammadan Law. Some politicians have expressed their misgivings on the enduring character of the New Régime, but if it is quite in harmony with the Moslem views, there appears no real foundation for any doubt on that score. The leaders of the Young Turk party, as it is called in this country, a few of whom I personally know, are pure in character, serious in thought, and peace-loving in action. They are undoubtedly men of great ability and eager to use it for the benefit of their country. No cause for any apprehension should be entertained regarding the lasting character of the New Era. It requires sympathy, and it is sincerely hoped that England will extend her helping hand, being the Power with the largest

number of Moslems under her banner, to Turkey, the seat of the Caliphate, and to Persia, the seat of culture and polish.

On the second question there appears conflict of views. Some Indian Moslems do not regard the Caliphate in the person of the ex-Sultan at an end, and maintain that he continues as Caliph *de jure*. In Turkey the authority of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, sets it at rest. He regards the Caliphate in the person of the ex-Sultan as forfeited, owing to his conduct in the past. If we are rightly informed of the high-handed actions of the ex-Sultan, there cannot be two opinions on this question. As soon as he ceased to be just and acted in a manner which was dangerous to the stability of the State, he forfeited the right to command obedience. If life and property, for the protection of which he was elected, were not safeguarded, he undoubtedly disregarded the fundamental rights of his subjects, ceased to remain just, and did therefore rightly lose his authority as Caliph. Legally speaking, his formal deposition renders the forfeiture absolutely beyond recall.

On the question of reform in India, it is premature to pass any definite opinion; but it cannot be denied that this reform marks a new era of great importance in the administration of the country, that it is a distinct advance on the previous administration, and that the people have been, to a certain extent, associated with the Government. The educated middle class, as such, have no representation, and the landholders, who are by no means very humane in the treatment of their tenants, have been given an undue amount of representation and power. The Mohammadans have been given separate seats on various Councils, and it is with this portion of the reform that we are chiefly concerned. This has been adversely criticized on the grounds that the Mohammadans are foreigners, and that they are of no great importance among the peoples of India. They should therefore receive no separate consideration.

The first objection was answered about forty years ago when the muftis of various schools at Mecca gave their legal opinion, declaring India as Dar-us-Salam, the Land of Peace. India, therefore, is not a foreign country for the Moslems, and they are bound to remain in peace there as long as the peculiarities of their religion remain untouched, and to defend her against any foreign aggression. It is apparent that they cannot be called foreigners, whatever might have been their places of origin.

The second objection is answered by the consideration of the Moslem political theory dominating the whole life of the Moslems. If the constitutional ideals of the Moslems are similar to those of the English, it is easy to see the importance of their association with the administration. It is bound to exercise a most salutary influence, provided proper men get on the Council. It would really have been a great loss to India if no provision were made to insure the return of the Moslem element to the Council. The advantages of the association of the Moslems, with their ideals adapted to the present condition of India, would have been denied to the Assembly, and if any evolution of the Government of India is thought of, it would have been seriously hindered. An India purely Hindu, or purely Mohammadan, or purely Parsi, or purely anything, can hardly commend itself to an Indian patriot, as this is far from ever becoming a reality. What is desired is an India free from any bias of any kind whatever, and this cannot be attained but by the mental welding together of all Indians to whom there would exist no difference on the score of ideals. If, therefore, any important section of the people of India were denied representation in an Assembly which was novel in the administration of the country, it would neither have been just to them nor advantageous to the ultimate good of India herself. The evolution of such an India as a result of the reforms would be more rapid under the circumstances when endeavour has been made to give representation to almost all the various sections amongst the people

of India, and when they have a chance of arriving at a common ideal emerging from the separate ideals of all. Then, and not till then, it is proper to speak of the election of an Indian member, irrespective of his religious views, to an Indian Council or to an Indian Assembly on colonial lines.

It has been further stated that the Moslems have more seats than their proportion allows them. In order to see whether it is really so, we should examine the composition of the Imperial Legislative Council. It consists of sixty-eight members, including the Viceroy and seven *ex-officio* members. It stands as follows :

1. Officials ...	...	...	35	35
2. Non-officials nominated by the Viceroy	...	...	4 or 2	
3. Non-officials elected or quasi- elected ...	...	...	28 or 30	
Total	...	67	67	

The thirty-five members represent the Government, and the nomination of four members is meant to safeguard the interests of classes who might have failed to secure adequate representation at the election.

The proportion of the number of seats given to various important sections of the peoples of India is as follows :

1. European Chambers of Commerce ...	2
2. Buddhists of Burma	1
3. Mohammadans ...	8
4. Hindus	17
Total	28

The Mohammadans have six seats given to them—viz., five elected by the Mohammadans of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces and the Eastern Bengal, one for each province, and one nominated to represent the Mohammadans of the Punjab.

Two other Mohammadans are elected to represent the

landholding interests in four provinces where they are in a majority, or form an important minority. They will be returned by different provinces at alternate elections. The first group will return two members at the first, third, fifth, and other subsequent alternate elections, while the other group will return the same at the second, fourth, sixth, and the succeeding alternate elections. The arrangements will be as follows :

(A) One member to represent the landholders in Bombay elected by the zamindars of Sindh, Mohammadans being in the ration of 2:1;

One member nominated to represent the landholders of the Punjab.

or

(B) One member elected by the Mohammadan landholders of the United Provinces ; and

One member elected by the Mohammadan landholders of Eastern Bengal.

The electorates of Group B will come into existence at the second, fourth, and sixth elections, and in those years the Viceroy's power of nomination will be to that extent reduced, and the seats in Group A will go to the Hindus. The special Mohammadan electorates will then be called into existence to adjust the balance.

Further, the Mohammadans have the right of voting in the general or mixed elections. They will thus have double votes.

Let us now analyze the advantages to the Moslems which has been the subject of so much criticism. In the first election, the member for the landholding interest of the Punjab will be nominated, while the member for Bombay must get himself returned by the mixed constituency. However excellent the choice may be, nomination can hardly be called representation ; nor is it easy to see how Moslems can be said to receive preferential treatment if the Moslem candidate will be dependent upon the passing mood of the electors in the mixed electorate.

In the second election the Moslems will have two extra seats, so that the number of Moslem representatives will be 8 out of thirty, nomination by the Viceroy being accordingly reduced by 2.

Thus in the first election the proportion of representation is 6 out of 28—that is to say, $21\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; while in the second it is 8 out of 30, that is to say, $26\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. Putting together the result of both elections (for India as a whole is fully represented only when both elections are taken into account) the average Moslem representation is about 24 per cent., just 1 per cent. more than what their proportion allows!

The right to participate in the mixed election has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. The apparent disadvantage is that some of the Moslem leaders will not be able to devote themselves exclusively to the welfare of the Moslems. They will be serving two masters. The great advantage, which no one interested in India should ignore, is that it may possibly result in creating good feelings between the Hindus and the Moslems, and thus render possible their co-operation and harmony in the economic development of the country.

There is very little advantage to the Moslems as such by participating in the mixed elections, not even by the application of the principle of proportional representation, and regarding the whole of India as one constituency. The surplus Moslem population is, altogether, 8 millions, and is located 3 millions in the Punjab and 5 millions in Eastern Bengal. This can hardly exercise any appreciable check or influence over population having a commanding majority. The 2 millions in Madras, together with the surplus hypothetically transferable votes, cannot affect a population of 34 millions; the 6 millions in the United Provinces, together with 8 millions, can scarcely hold their own against $40\frac{1}{2}$ millions; or the 9 millions in Bengal, together with 8 millions, against 39 millions; or in the whole of India 23 per cent., as against, at least, double that number.

There are imperfections associated with the reform. Nevertheless, it is the greatest achievement of the late reign, as it associates the people with the government of the country, and lays down the foundation for greater reforms in the future. It is the duty of all patriotic Indians to receive this instalment in the best spirit, and show their appreciation of it by their hearty co-operation with the existing administration of the country.

YASNA XXVIII.*

By PROFESSOR MILLS.

[INTRODUCTORY.—A strengthening-blessing† is the thought, a blessing is the word, a blessing is the deed of the holy Zarathushtra :— Forth-on may the Bountiful Immortals accept, or “take up,” the chants :—Homage to you, O Sacred Gāthas!]‡

i. With venerating§ desire for this (gift of) gracious-help, O Mazda, and stretching-forth (my) hands (to Thee), I-pray-for the first (blessing)|| of (Thy) Bountiful-Spirit;¶ (—that is), I beseech (of Thee) that all** actions (of worth, or ritual, of State or individual, may be done) in accordance

* Being a study looking toward a second edition. The Sanskrit equivalent of this hymn was published by me in the “Festgruss” of the late Professor R. von Roth, p. 193, 1893. See S.B.E., xxxi., 1.

† A “spiritual boon.”

‡ Readers should notice that these introductory sentences are of greatly later origin than any of the Gāthas, which latter took time to acquire their sacrosanct authority. The term *yāñīm* (= “*yānyam*”) was first suggested, as I think, by the need for a similar word in the first strophe.

§ “Bowing in praise,” Ved. *nāmasā*, gives an added idea to the mere words “in prayer for.”

|| Probably the *yāñīm* (= *yam*) of the Introduction was due to its felt want here; an adverb (= “at first”) between (two) related genitives, is wholly out of place. See *yāñāish* in strophe 9.

¶ Others, “Holy Spirit,” to which I do not object.

** Or “toward all.” Possibly a neuter = *vīçvāni*, generalizing the idea. My expression in S.B.E. was perhaps too definitively “personal.”

with* Asha (Archangel of Thy Holy Law;† and for this I implore of Thee) the Understanding of Vohumanah, Thy Good Mind in order that I may propitiate Gēush Ruvan,

The Herd's Soul (which cries so bitterly to Thee).

2. And therefore, O Ahura Mazda, Life-Spirit-Lord, the-Great-Creator,‡ (inspired) by§ Vohumanah (Archangel of Thy Good Mind),

I approach You, and beseech of You to grant me those-attainments-of-reward (which appertain) to both the worlds, unto that of the body, and to that of the mind, and which are to be derived from Asha (Archangel|| of Just Law

* That is, "all deeds to be done with holiness and justice."

† The instrumental *Ashā* is a crucial necessity in connection with all words expressing "action, thought, or speech"; so, in the *Veda*, Bergaigne made a careful scrutiny. *Ashā* cannot possibly be vocative in such connections: "thoughts with justice," "words with truth," "deeds with honour." The well-motived rendering, "that I may content the will of *Vohu Manah*," totally violates the syntax. The "understanding" of the Good "Mind" was essentially needed to content the Soul of the Herds. An eminent Vedist, so far from seeing the personification of *Vohu Manah* as the Archangel everywhere, was inclined to regard it (*Vohu Manah*) as being nearly everywhere personified in the "good man" (see Y. 49, 10, where *Vohu Manah* is so used). He might have seen here "the skill of a good husbandman, to content the Herd's Soul which wails in Y. 29, satisfying the Herd's Soul by giving fodder." This, perhaps, was going too far upon the side of realism; "the mental capacity of a sound mind" is what is meant as regards the vital duty of care for the Herds, the One Element of National Wealth, and therefore national salvation.

‡ Or "the Wise One"—so the most.

§ An instr. is again crucially necessary as expressing the spirit of the approach, while a voc. is again utterly out of place; see also the form, and notice the difficulty of any personification at all here. He approaches "with a good state of mind," and not "in company with an Archangel" (!), and so throughout; though he may be "inspired by the Archangel of Good Will." These are throughout the crucial questions: How far shall we personify?; and in personifying should we ever omit to express the interior idea? Here I totally object to all, discontinuity as unscientific; the interior idea should never be left unexpressed, while at the next chapter we express it—*Asha*, *Vohumanah*, as mere proper names in one line: and as "Right," "Good Will" in the next! In the later Avesta the interior sense may be sometimes lost, as in the later Zoroastrianism.

|| *I.e.*, "on account of my sanctity and righteousness," the personification is again all but impossible. *Asha*, as Archangel, in no sense here intervenes, save as He gives the reward inspired by His Own justice, and earned by the righteousness of the saint who receives it.

inspiring righteous deeds), and by means-of-which he (that personified Justice)* may introduce (those) who are their-recipients into beatitude-and-welfare.*

3. O Asha (Spirit of the Holy Law) and Thou, Vohumanah (Archangel of the Good Mind), I will weave (my hymn) to You,†

(b, c) And to Ahura Mazda in a manner unsurpassed, for all of whom Aramaiti (Archangel of the Holy Zeal)‡ is causing the imperishable Kingdom§ to-advance :||—(and while I thus utter my supplications to you) come ye here to my calls to aid ;—

4. (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications), I who am directing my soul's attention to an awakening,¶ knowing full well (as I do) the rewards of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed)** by Ahura Mazda (and also the rewards bestowed by Him).

So long as I am able and may have the power (of place and time,—the opportunity) so long will I teach †† (Your

* "Righteousness" naturally leads to "beatitude."

† Very Vedic.

‡ Notice how seldom, if ever, *Aramaiti* appears as "earth" in the Gātha, an idea so familiar to both Veda and to late Avesta.

§ "Here," with *Kshathra*, personification is not seen by any (?) writer; but if the interior idea is exclusively present here, it should never be left unexpressed in translating any one of the other five terms. Consistency is here imperative. Science is abandoned if we render Asha as the "interior or truth" in one strophe, and then in the next as the mere proper name of the individual Archangel, and this without any attempt to express the interior significance of the terms ;—and so of Aramaiti and the rest ;—an expression of the essential interior ideas existing in the language should never be withheld.

Wherever I use "*Asha*" here without adding "Archangel of the Law of Truth and Ritual," or the like, let it be understood that I regard the reader as already fully apprised that the word is never used without its interior sense.

|| Lit., "increases."

¶ Or, "I who am delivering my soul to the Mount—so reading *gairīm*—whither all the redeemed must pass," S.B.E. Or again, "I who deliver my soul to *Garodmān* (Heaven)," so the Pahl. trl. reading *mān gairīm* (?).

** Not of course knowing the rewards "through Ahura" or "by means of Mazda." Ahura can seldom stand in the instrumental of such a sense.

†† So better than "will I learn," though the difference is not great; "teaching" is, however, everywhere the "burden of the song."

people concerning those holy rewards to be gained by them) in the desire of Asha* (the coming of the Archangel of Thy Law, to inspire them to those deeds, and so induce rewards).

5. O Asha (Archangel† of the Holy Law), shall I, indeed,‡ see Thee, and Vohumanah (The Good Mind), I finding Sr(a)osha—(God's Heeding Ear and man's), the way to Ahura Mazda (or "while I find His throne");§—with that Manthra-of-Reason will we cause (even) the Khrafstra-polluted ones to choose that greatest one (Sr(a)osha|| Obedience or God's Heeding Ear and man's).

6. Do thou, O Ahura Mazda (the Life-Spirit-Lord, the-great-Creator) come (to me) in grace (that is, with Vohu Manah as thy Good Mind),¶ and do Thou,

* Or, "to wish for *Asha*," which offers but little difference; but an infinitive *a ishē*, with a genitive of object, does not look so natural; *bhuj*= "to enjoy," "governs" a gen., but hardly *ish*= "to wish." See the throng of Vedic infin. in -e:—how many of them concern a genitive?

† Referring to the prayer for him in the previous strophe. Personification is here pronounced;—but it is fully guarded by the previous strophe, as by the entire piece. Therefore he is nowhere Archangel with a meaningless name.

‡ *Kathā* is used as interrogative merely, as so often in the Vedic, but then it must express some added emphasis here, "Shall I, indeed, see thee?" "When, indeed, shall I see thee?" "Shall I ever see thee?" No question asked as to mere "time" is here meant. Similar usage appears in all languages.

§ Recall the Vedic term, but *gatu*= "throne" in Avesta, elsewhere, and upon Behistūn.

|| *Sr(a)osha*; as "Heeding," is distinctly called "the greatest," at Y. 33, 5—and this in direct connection with (*a*)*sruṣṭi*= "non-heeding." The subjective sense is unquestioned at Y. 45, 4, "They who will grant me a heeding-obedience." *Sraosha* cannot easily be reduced to a mere "God of public worship" anywhere in the Gātha with all the interior significance lost in a mere meaningless name. It is utterly futile to attempt it.

Alternatives: "Will we cause the polluted ones to believe on the greatest One (Ahura)?" or again, most critically (perhaps of all, so in S.B.E. xxxi.), "Will we the most hold off the Khrafstra (flesh-devouring fiends with tongues)?" The "conversion of the polluted" sounds rather advanced for the period.

¶ It would not look so natural for Ahura, the Supreme Being, to come "hand-in-hand with His own Archangel." He is besought to come "benevolently," as "in a favourable attitude." Personification is most

who bestowest asha-gifts, bestow alike long-lasting life*
on me ;—

and by means of Thy lofty† words impart Thy
powerful, joy-inspiring-help to Zarathushtra‡ and to us,
O Ahura, whereby we may repel the fiendish-hostilities§
of the foe.

7. O Asha (Archangel of the Truth,—the Holy Law—)
bestow on me this reward,—the attained-prizes of Vohu
Manah|| (the Good Mind of my intention and devotion),

(b) And do thou, O Aramaiti (Archangel of the Ready-
Will of Energetic-Impulse) grant to Vishtāspa and to me
our wish ;

(c) And may'st Thou, O Ahura, vouchsafe and provide
that whereby we may (fully) hear (and proclaim)¶ Thy
benignant words.**

the two ideas : see Y. 32, 2. Ahura Mazda speaks ashā, of course = “with truth,” as always with words of “thought,” “word,” and “deed,” but Asha is at the same time called (rhetorically) “the good companion.” Such remarks as these touch upon the very quintessence of the literature when regarded as the earliest systematized document in the history of the moral idea in interior religion.

* Or, with another text, -*gayō*, voc., “O Thou Eternal.”

† Or, “With Thine ‘holy words,’ ‘true words.’”

‡ This strophe seems to be put into the mouth of Vishtāspa ; not that V. was the author here; see the next strophe, where Z. takes up again the first personal. This reference to Z. in the third personal hardly precludes his authorship here, as he was undoubtedly the chief composer.

§ Notice that “military hostilities” were transpiring ; the hymn is no sense merely “academic.”

|| See once more the difficulty of “personification.” “The Good Mind of the faithful who earn the reward” is the foremost idea. An eminent Vedist would most certainly have here rendered “the rewards of the Good Man.”

¶ Or, “do thou grant, O Mazda and ruler.” Or again, *with another text*, “that I may, as thy *manthra* speaker, cause thy message to succeed.” Notice how little these variants affect what we most treasure in these hymns, which is the depth and vitality of the moral religious ideas.

** Notice the urgent anxiety for the success of the cause, political and religious. Observe that the crisis is in progress, with the continued impossibility that these hymns were later artificially constructed to represent a moving scene in a political-religious emergency. Even where dramatic compositions were in the course of being frequently produced—difficult throughout, though there is one remarkable passage which blends,

8. That best of gifts, therefore do I beseech Thee, O Thou best One, Ahura, One-in-Will, as Thou art with Asha (Archangel of Thy Holy Law), likewise the best (of spirits), desiring (it, as I now do) for the heroic Frashaoshtra, and for me, upon whom verily mays't Thou bestow it for all the age (and dispensation) of Thy Good Mind*—(the duration of Our Holy Cause once established and supreme).

9 (*a, b*). On account of those-boons-of-strengthening-grace (and in our prayers for them) may we not anger† You, O Ahura Mazda, nor Asha (Archangel of Thy Law), nor Vohumanah (Thy Good Mind), since we have (indeed)-made-effort (manifold) in the tenfold (chorus) of Thy praisers;—

(*c*) For Ye are the most-swiftly-furthering toward both the prayer for blessings, and the completed-acquisition‡ (of their possession).

10 (*a, b*) Whom, therefore, Thou knowest, O Mazda Ahura, to be the Holy Creatures§ of Vohumanah (Archangel of Good Will), and from Asha (as their righteousness)†, to-these do-thou-fill-up desire with-(their)-results-attained,

(*c*) For I have known Your (inspired) words to be

say, in swarming India—it would be next to impossible to imitate such curious pieces, so personal, and yet so frequently addressed and applied to the masses (see Y. 30, 1; Y. 54, 1). But if they were not thus artificially patched up, then all question as to their approximate age is settled; they were delivered in a living vernacular, see Y. 30, 1; 45, 1; but Avesta was not "living" later than 700-900 B.C.

* The new era of "Good Will" and "sane Intelligence" (see everywhere, especially Y. 30, 10). See also, just a little later in Avesta, the millennial reign of Beatitude (see it frequently in Y. xix., etc.; recall also Rev. xx.), the Avesta being undeniably the earliest document of such an idea.

† "Through conscious or unconscious defect in the method of our worship." Such a tone is more consonant with the spirit of the later Avesta than with that of the Gātha, so that in S.B.E. xxxi. I was inclined to read "animated by these blessings may we not anger you," but see Yasna, i. 50-67.

‡ Or, "toward the One King-of-his-wish as regards advantages." Notice the word *Khshathrem* as impossibly describing the Archangel.

never-void-of-their-effect, reaching-(ever)-well their aim,*
victorious (for our weal).†

-[(Alternative for strophe 10 : "What gifts thou knowest from their Sanctity to be those of (or "fit for") (a Saint of Thy) Good Intention, from these gifts (holy or) "sublime" do thou fill (our) desire, through-acquisitions (of them); for I have known your (revealed) words to be never-void-of-their-effect‡ regarding-(our-needful) food, and for (other) objects (most) desired)]-

I. (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers), I, who, through-these-means (of grace) would protect Asha§ (as the Spirit of Thy Holy Tribes§ and Law), and Vohu Manah (as embodied in Thy benevolent Saint)|| for-ever—(for this reason)—teach Thou me forth, O Mazda Ahura, from thine (own) mouth of Spirit to proclaim (to Thy Folk) how the first world arose (and how it shall recur).¶

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The unaccustomed reader—and all non-specialists might provisionally be classed as such—may notice the ever-recurring effort made by me to render in their fullest significance the terms which at times in all parts of the Gāthas express the personification of those Divine attributes, the grouping of which constitutes the main substance of the Avesta doctrine. This effort on my part coincides with the main exertion

* It is hardly necessary to take "*dāthēng*" as meaning "the clever" with a great Vedist.

† The alternative, while, as ever in all the alternatives, it may vary the point, does not affect the main idea.

‡ They will "fill desire."

§ He could not wish to "protect the Archangel."

|| So *Vohu Manah* must be here "embodied in the saint," which is elsewhere Gāthic (see 49, 10; see also the same verb there).

¶ So, venturing to fit the context the more aptly, *bavat* as improp. conj. in a future conj. sense. But one cannot deny that the preterit is eminently well adopted in view of Yasna xxx., which should follow; to explain the "origin of the better world" explains also the points in this entire Gāthic effort to restore it.

which we are all of us called upon to make in our treatment of the Gāthas as the first documents of the moral idea in the purest religion of all equal antiquity—that is to say, in the purest among religions which look forward to another life in a future world, and perhaps also the widest spread up to its date, 700 to 900 B.C., of all established creeds of its kind, having been obviously the State religion of the Persian Empire at the apex of its influence—that is to say, such a State religion, so far as any religion whatsoever occupied that position among the numerous religious faiths of that country at that period.

[And, by "purest," let me explain, I mean the most free from all those pseudo-supernaturalistic accretions which so often encrust themselves upon the records of ancient religions. So also as regards myth, the Gāthas allude in passing, at least, once to an ancient myth; but aside from possible visions of the Almighty, and from some claims to inspiration, no assertive representations of the supernatural element appear in them—such representations, I mean, as immediately and necessarily result in myth, if they be not, indeed, at once "myth" themselves. Of course, Zarathushtra's personality, like his sayings, became later on the theme of myths, as did those of Buddha; and the Zarathrushta of the later Avesta is a totally distinct concept in this particular. Here in the Gāthas Zarathrushta is real and actual, if any person in history can claim such a status. The Gāthas of themselves, as it were, and "unconsciously," reveal the opinions, passions, hopes, and fears of a person living amidst the scenes which he implies. As I have said elsewhere, if the authors of the Gāthas asserted of themselves that they, the G., were the productions of a person living at any particular time and place, I would treat the statements as worse than useless. It is what the Gāthas disclose, as it were, without intending it, which alone proves to me that Zarathushtra must have been an actual participant in the struggles which he, with his fellow authors of the Gāthas, so plainly, if so uninten-

tionally, portrays. It is this alone which convinces me with regard to his historical existence at the time of the authorship of the Gāthas, as well as with regard to the vital historical significance of his propaganda.]-

To resume : As the history of the moral idea should be regarded as the most important theme of its kind in literature, and if the Gāthas are the earliest documents of it, as connected with eschatology, and likewise also the freest of fable, and the most extensively prevalent with close pragmatic incidence, then their historical importance cannot well be exaggerated. Not only as technical literature do they possess such value, though their interest in such a light is great, but as moral and religious literature they claim pre-eminence, and they are accordingly generally recognized as being worthy of it. For, in spite of all parallel development, or, more strictly speaking, in consequence of it, we are directly, as well as indirectly, concerned with them ; because, with the six names of the Bountiful (or " Holy ") Immortals, understood in their actual meaning as words, and with their occasional personification regarded as simply being that of rhetoric, they might offer a model for any peoples desiring a theistical religion. No religious person has any right to ignore such a prominent and dominating spiritual system.

It is also difficult to shut out the obtrusive suggestion that the prevalence of such a religion as the Gāthic, with such principles, within their Empire, may well have added somewhat to the motives which induced that active sympathy of the Persian Sovereigns with the Jews, which originated and stimulated these better sentiments toward them which impelled them to take the steps which both sanctioned and furthered the return of portions of the tribes to the sacred City, and the restorations which followed upon it. If such was, indeed, the fact, it is hard to deny that we owe something nationally, as well as personally, to the Gāthic religion, and that this something is of no little moment. We should also not forget that the animus

and celebrations, as well as the then extant Persian religious literature, must have exercised a very extended and very incisive influence upon the Jews after they had become Persian subjects, not to say, "Persian citizens"; and we may accede to this suggestion entirely aside from all question as to any *originating initiative** exercised by the Persian faith upon those elements in the exilic Jewish creed which coincide so closely with it. The Persian religion may have had nothing (?) whatever to do with the *origination* of the Jewish exilic creed, but it certainly fostered and encouraged that system of Eschatology, Soteriology, and Chiliasm which became so prominent in the system later promulgated by our Lord.

In offering my renderings of the Gāthas with the rest of the Yasna, I have, fortunately for myself as well as for my readers, an element of advantage in the matter of procedure which might be almost termed "accidental." It seems that a rabid *polemic* prevailed at the time of my first publication, in all criticism upon the subject of the Avesta, and this centred in a cliquism, of the lowest conceivable description, implying categorical falsifications at every line. I therefore conceived the plan of an inclusively comprehensive method, presenting all the serious views which have ever been as yet recorded, beginning with the Asiatic translators and commentators, and adding the more respectable of the latest opinions, in alternatives; so that, with my texts, commentary and dictionary in view—this latter, say, to about a thousand pages of the Gāthas, for up to that figure the dictionary stands in type—there are no possible opinions worth considering that have not been carefully weighed in these present translations.

Minute certainty as to ultimate detail upon such a difficult theme can indeed never be positively reached.* The only certainty to be hoped for and so desired is that which lies

* The Jews had no such religion before the exile as that to which our Lord adhered, but the sorrows of the captivity may have induced them to look more closely to the other world.

within the scope of two or three alternative renderings, but interior and exterior certainty upon the one all-important point of the profoundly interior character of the Gāthic religion and morality can by *no means be avoided*; while the uncertainties seldom concern this latter, which is all that gives the Gāthas their unique importance (see above).

It need hardly be said that these reproductions do not constitute a complete second edition of those of the Gāthas as published in the Sacred Books of the East, XXXI. A large number of the copies of that work have been disposed of, but a remnant always lingers. Considering the time of life at which I have arrived, it is obviously desirable that I should place upon record some provisional study, such as the present, which may be of use later on when the second edition, which has been informally, if officially, mentioned, is actually in the process of production.

* P.S.—As I have elsewhere stated, abnormally concentrated compression of ideas so far controls the consequently meagre diction of the Gāthas that the authors of them could not themselves at times have rediscovered what they themselves, or, what he himself, if but one person was their composer, had definitely meant to say in the sentences which they constructed, unless he, or they, resorted to the acute exercise of the faculty of memory, recollecting what the exact pointing of their previous ideas had been. Their enthusiasm, so deep if solemn, and, therefore so succinctly expressed, had so completely taken possession of them that they seldom concerned themselves with hearers beyond the immediate circle of those whom they could always further initiate into the fuller incidence of their suggestions. This involves, naturally, an element of superiority in them, while it increases in the same proportion, the difficulties for us.

SOME VERSES BY THE EMPEROR BĀBUR.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

ABOUT the middle of the sixteenth century an unknown Ottoman-Turk compiled a Dictionary of the Chaghatai or Eastern Turkish language. He intended it chiefly as a glossary to the works of 'Alī Sher Nevāī, and so he entitled the book, "The Nevāī Dictionary, and Specimens of the Chaghatai Language." But it is known to scholars by the name of "Abūsh̄qa" from the first word explained in it, and which happens to mean "husband." The Abūsh̄qa has been dealt with by Vambéry, Berezin, and others, and in 1869 V. de Veliaminof-Zernof published an edition of it at St. Petersburg, together with a French preface. In 1870, M. Pavet de Courteille incorporated nearly the whole of the Abūsh̄qa in his Dictionary of Eastern Turkish.

The principal value of the Abūsh̄qa is the number of poetical quotations which it contains. Naturally the most of these are from 'Alī Sher's works, but there are several from the *Divāns* of Bābur and of Sultan Husain the ruler of Herat. There is no evidence that the compiler was acquainted with Bābur's Memoirs, and his quotations from that author, which are eight in number, are all of quatrains not to be found in Leyden and Erskine. The work of making extracts from Bābur's prose was done much later by Mīrzā Mehdi Khān, the secretary of Nādir

Shāh, whose work, the *Senglākh*, was completed in 1762. The *Senglākh* is, like the *Abūshqa*, full of quotations from 'Alī Sher; but there are also many quotations, both in the preface and in the body of the work, from Bābur's Memoirs. Unfortunately, the *Senglākh* is still in manuscript. See Rieu's Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum, p. 264, and the Bolleian Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 1020, No. 1760. The first Bābur quotation in the *Abūshqa* is at p. 46, and under the word *ītālīng*—that is, "Let us make." It is translated by P. de Courteille at p. 95 of his Dictionary, and the purport is:

"Happy he who in the season of Spring,
Finds all the materials of joy ready to his hand.
If they be not there for us, let us gather them for ourselves,
I with luscious dainties, and thou with wine."

The next quotation is under the word *taskarī*, p. 168, pp. 214, 215 of Pavet de Courteille, and is the longest and perhaps the most interesting of them all. Khwāja Kilān was a favourite officer of Bābur's, and apparently the only survivor out of seven brothers, the others having been all killed in battle. But though Khwāja Kilān had accompanied Bābur to India and had distinguished himself there, he could not stand the heat of the country, and longed for the cool breezes of Afghanistan. So his master gave him the province of Ghaznī. On his way thither, Khwāja Kilān, who was a poet and had the pen-name of Panāhī (the protected one), put up a marble tablet in Delhi on which was inscribed a Persian couplet in which he expressed his opinion of India in terms more vigorous than polite. What it said was, "If once I get across the Indus safe and sound, may my face be blackened if ever I return to India!" Or, as it has been pithily rendered by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole:

"If safe and sound I pass the Sind,
Damned if ever I wish for Hind."

Bābur was vexed at his old friend's departure, and at

his rude comment upon India, so he replied by a Turkī quatrain :

" Render, O Bābur, a hundred thanks to the gracious Giver,
 For having bestowed on thee India, the Indus and much else.
 If thou (K. Kilān) canst not abide heat, and longest
 To behold faces bleached by cold, there is always Ghazni."

Khwāja Kilān, however, was not silenced, and sent a Turkī quatrain by way of rejoinder :

" You show your gaiety and your wit,
 In each word there lie acres of charms.
 Were not everything in India topsy-turvy,
 How could you, midst heat, be so pleasant on cold?"

The poetical correspondence between Khwāja Kilān and himself is referred to by Bābur in his Memoirs, p. 337 of Leyden and Erskine. It is an old remark of travellers that everything in India is the opposite of what one sees elsewhere. Bābur's ancestor, Timur, is said to have remarked it, and to have told his soldiers not to be afraid of the elephants of India, "For," said he, "their trunks are sleeves without arms, and they carry their tails in front, for in India everything is reversed."

The next quotation is at p. 171, 202 of P. de Courteille, and is in praise of spring.

" In Spring the fields entrance the heart,
 The tulips take the eye with beauty.
 Happy he who can wander in green pastures,
 At this season how charming the spectacle they offer!"

The fourth is at p. 196, 267, of P. de Courteille, and is an address to a mistress.

The fifth and sixth are on p. 213, pp. 236 and 237 of P. de Courteille. The first of these two is the usual lover's complaint, but the second is very interesting, for it is addressed to a sister, and verses to a sister are, I think, rare in Oriental poetry.

" Breeze of the morning, approach my smiling flower,
 Or rather my moon, glorious as the sun
 Go, full of love, and convey from Bābur
 'Good-morrow to my very own sister.'"

The word explained is *tūghghān*, which means a full sister or brother, and therefore the quatrain may have been addressed to Bābur's only full sister, the charming Khānzāda. But *tūghghān* might also be applied to a cousin, for Orientals often call their cousins "brothers." Or it might be used simply as a term of endearment, as, for instance, it was used by Bairām Khān and Tardī Beg to one another, though they were not related. Though, therefore, I prefer to think that the quatrain was addressed to Khānzāda, it may have been intended for Bābur's cousin Maśūma, whom he married in Cabul; or for his favourite wife, whose pet name, "Māhim," means "My Moon."

The next quotation is at p. 287, p. 368 of P. de Courteille. It is under the word *sīghnāqī*, and is interesting as containing a reference to the kind of writing invented by Bābur, and styled *Bāburī*.

The eighth and last quotation is at p. 398, p. 531 of Pavet de Courteille, and refers to the difficulty of knowing what can touch the heart of a mistress.

The *Divan*, or book of verses, of Bābur was formerly celebrated in the East, but has now become rare. There is a copy in the Rāmpūr Library, and it is to be hoped that my friend, Dr. Denison-Ross, will shortly give an edition of it to the world.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES OF THE SIKHS.*

By M. A. MACAULIFFE.

IN this article I shall confine myself to what has been printed and published by others, to what learned men have written to me regarding Dr. Trumpp's work, to his own statements regarding the Sikh religion and the Sikh Gurus, and to specimens of his translation which can be judged by the reader.

Dr. Trumpp, who had been a Christian missionary in India, was employed by the India Office in the end of 1869 to make a translation of the Granth, or Bible of the Sikhs. When he went to India for the purpose, a writer under the initials "H. R." in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last, describes what immediately followed: "On Dr. Trumpp's arrival in the Panjab he received an official introduction to the Sikh priests at Amritsar, and they waited on him on his arrival there to begin his work. He told them that he was a Sanskrit scholar, that he understood their sacred writings better than they did themselves, and, by way of emphasizing his remarks, pulled out his cigar-case and perfumed with it the 'Adi Granth' which was lying on the table before him.

"Tobacco being an abomination to the Sikhs, the priests fled in consternation, and left Dr. Trumpp to plume himself on his display of learning and originality. The result was

* "The Adi Granth: The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs," by Dr. Ernest Trumpp. London, 1877.

that he could obtain no assistance in his labours from any orthodox Sikhs. He was obliged to depend on a half-educated member of the Sikh persuasion, described by orthodox Sikhs as a *lucha*, or man of loose character, and he worked with him for about a year. He then took the holy book to Munich, where he drew his salary from the India Office, and produced with unassisted and unwearied industry the work which he published in 1877 under the title of 'The Adi Granth, or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs.'

On the completion of Dr. Trumpp's large volume in 1877, the Indian Government circulated it among the leading Sikhs. They rejected his work, and frequently made official representations of their displeasure to the Panjab Government. Such representations were always unheeded. On Lord Dufferin's visit to Lahore the leading Sikhs appealed to him against the refusal of the local Government to meet their wishes. In their memorial they stated: "The translation made by Dr. Trumpp, who was employed by the India Office for the purpose, is bristling with sentences altogether wide of the meaning—so much so, that one regrets the useless labour and the large amount of money spent in vain."

The Sikhs had no power to force the Government to correct Dr. Trumpp's work, and remained silent for some time. Not many days after Lord Curzon became Viceroy of India he addressed the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and spoke of the "succession of kingdoms, dynasties, races, and religions in India, many of them leaving relics of the highest value, which it is incumbent upon us to examine, to elucidate, and to conserve." He promised that he "would do whatever lay in his power to encourage research, to promote study, and to safeguard the relics of the past as a part of our Imperial obligations to India."

On reading these words the Sikhs thought that Lord Curzon was sufficiently liberal to meet their wishes for a proper presentation of their religion. Accordingly, when he visited Lahore a few months afterwards, they

brought their grievances before him, and complained that Dr. Trumpp paid little regard to the traditional renderings of the hymns of their Gurus and saints. "Dr. Trumpp's translation," they represented, "is unidiomatic and unintelligible in many cases even to Englishmen. He has cruelly misrepresented our Granth Sahib, our holy Gurus, and our religion, which we so prize. He has spoken in very offensive terms of the language of our sacred volume, and says that 'in proportion to its size it is, perhaps, the most shallow and empty book that exists.'" Lord Curzon told the memorialists in effect that if the Sikhs desired an accurate translation of their sacred book, they could, no doubt, make and publish one themselves at inconsiderable expense.

The Sikh priests of Amritsar, thinking the Lahore memorial, as also the Viceroy's reply, inadequate, drew up a memorial of their own, in which they gave fuller reasons for their dissatisfaction with Dr. Trumpp's work. In it they stated: "In his preface he writes: 'The Sikh Granth is a very big volume, but incoherent and shallow in the extreme, and couched at the same time in dark and perplexing language in order to cover these defects. It is for us Occidentals a most painful and almost stupefying task to read only a single Rāg, and I doubt if any ordinary reader will have the patience to proceed to the second Rāg after he shall have perused the first.'

"In another part of his book Dr. Trumpp says: 'By Guru Arjan's jumbling together whatever came to hand without any judicious selection, the "Granth" has become a very incoherent and wearisome book, the few thoughts and ideas that it contains being repeated in endless variations, which are for the most part a mere jingling of words.' Again, at p. cxxii. of his book, Dr. Trumpp says: 'The "Granth" in proportion to its size is, perhaps, the most shallow and empty book that exists.' Dr. Trumpp, in his 'Life of Guru Har Gobind,' states that 'he appropriated to himself the pay due to the soldiers in advance, in conse-

quence of which, and on account of the fine imposed on his father Arjan, the Emperor Jahāngir sent him to the Fort of Gwāliar, where he remained in prison for twelve years.' This statement is cruelly false, and is based on an incorrect translation of the 'Dabistan' by a Frenchman. Dr. Trumpp, at p. xc of his work, states that Guru Gohiud Singh offered a human sacrifice to the goddess Devi, "who was his special object of worship," a statement which is totally untrue, and which is calculated to lower the Sikh faith to the level of fetishism, or worse.

"It would trespass too much on your time and patience to enumerate any more of the defamatory statements which, prompted by religious bigotry, Dr. Trumpp made against our Gurus and our sacred volume, or a thousandth part of his mistranslations. Even when by accident he hit upon the true translation, his English is generally unintelligible to the ordinary reader.

"The injury complained of to our sacred religion having been done, though of course, quite unintentionally, through the action of the Government, we humbly pray that it will now make reparation by publishing under its auspices a correct translation of our sacred writings and trustworthy lives of our holy Gurus.

"Owing to the spread of English education under our benign Government, the rising generation are growing up in great ignorance of their sacred writings, and are either relapsing into Hinduism or becoming indifferent to all religion, a result which, we submit, cannot be for the advantage of the State. If a trustworthy translation of our sacred writings were made for their use, they would remain true Sikhs, and loyal, as before, to the British Government.

"We respectfully submit that a correct translation of our sacred books should be made as early as possible, as the old race of Gyanis, or professional interpreters of the Granth Sahib, is dying out for want of patronage, and soon there will be few or none to take their place.

"The spoken language of the Panjab, too, is rapidly

altering, and it would be important to ascertain at once, and fix for all time, the meaning of words in our sacred writings which will in all human probability become unintelligible in one or two generations."

Lord Curzon caused his reply to the Lahore memorial to be copied out by a clerk, and it was sent as a reply to the memorial of the Sikh chiefs and nobles of Amritsar. I heard some time afterwards that the memorials, with Lord Curzon's reply, were circulated to the Sikh army in India with the object of causing dissatisfaction with the Indian Government. This affords an illustration of the manner in which that great Imperial body fails to win the loyalty of the natives of India.

In the same year, 1899, a Congress of Orientalists was held in Rome, and the subject of my work on the "Sikh Religion" was taken up by some of the foreign members of the Congress. The learned and philanthropic Count Gubernatis wrote the following letter to the Secretary of State for India, dated October 19, 1899:

"Dans l'intérêt de la science, je prends la liberté de vous signaler fort particulièrement à votre attention la proposition de M. Macauliffe, accueillée avec tant d'intérêt et si chaleureusement recommandée par l'Assemblée Générale du 12me Congrès des Orientalistes dans la séance du 8 octobre pour une édition et illustration critique des textes de la religion des Sikhs. Tout ce que l'India Office décidera en faveur de cette noble entreprise ne pourra être que très méritoire. Et à ce titre, j'ose vivement recommander à la protection de l'India Office les intéressantes recherches de M. Macauliffe sur les textes canoniques des Sikhs du Panjab."

This letter covered the following proceedings of the Congress of Orientalists in Rome in the year 1899:

"À propos de la conférence de M. Macauliffe, M. le Professeur L. von Schroeder, Professeur de Sanskrit à l'Université de Vienne, estime qu'il serait très désirable de posséder une traduction des livres sacrés des Sikhs, telle

que M. Macauliffe en a conçu le plan et préparé l'exécution, traduction dans laquelle se trouverait incorporée et utilisée la tradition orale des Sikhs eux-mêmes qui menace de disparaître rapidement. Il recommande instamment l'entreprise de M. Macauliffe à l'appui matériel tant du Gouvernement de l'Inde que des chefs Sikhs. Cet appui a été autrefois généreusement accordé à la tentative méritoire mais insuffisante de Dr. Trumpp; il peut seul assurer le succès d'une œuvre aussi considérable et aussi couteuse.

"M. Émile Sénart, Membre de l'Institut de France, et Vice-Président de la Société Asiatique à Paris, à son tour, demande à appuyer la proposition faite par M. von Schroeder, et prie la réunion de recommander instamment à l'appui, soit du Gouvernement de l'Inde, soit des chefs Sikhs, l'entreprise de M. Macauliffe. Il insiste sur l'intérêt spécial que présente dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Inde le développement de la religion des Sikhs, la seule qui y ait pris l'allure militante et guerrière que ne semblaient pas faire prévoir ses débûts. Le plus essentiel de la traduction projetée sera dans cette circonstance, qu'elle préservera d'une partie menaçante la tradition orale et l'interprétation orthodoxe. Nulle part la tradition n'a plus d'importance que dans une doctrine comme celle-ci, qui est voilée d'un syncrétisme compliqué, et dont l'originalité spéculative n'a pu se dégager que peu à peu."

In this connection it may be mentioned that the India Office staff discovered Lord Curzon's reply to the Lahore and Amritsar memorialists in an old number of an Anglo-Indian newspaper, and sent a cutting from it, as a reply on behalf of the Secretary of State, to Count de Gubernatis and the foreign savants of the Roman Congress of Orientalists.

Representative Sikh societies, knowing that neither the Secretary of State for India nor the Indian Government would do anything to remove the ridicule and contempt which Dr. Trumpp had brought on their religion, and also feeling that I sympathized with them in the position in

which their religion had been placed, requested me to resign the Indian Civil Service and make a translation of their sacred books, which would be acceptable to them and the general public. In one of the letters addressed to me it was stated that "Dr. Trumpp's translation was not reliable, and it was a matter of regret that the Government's expenditure of many thousands of rupees produced no satisfactory result." It was also promised that "the Sikhs would be extremely obliged, and would aid you in the work." In the letter of the Chief Khalsa Diwan to me it was stated that "the Sikhs would be only too glad to see the translation undertaken by you, that they would not fail to recognize the importance of the work, and help you in all possible ways." The Secretary to the Singh Sabha of Lahore wrote : "I am confirmed in my opinion that a fresh attempt at translation is urgently needed, as Dr. Trumpp's translation is found to be vitiated by numerous errors."

In due time, after the commencement of my work, I submitted specimens of it to various savants. Max Müller, in his book, "Auld Lang Syne," second series, admitted that "Dr. Trumpp was by no means a trustworthy translator." Hofrat von Bühler, of the Vienna University, wrote to me in February, 1898 : "I think it would be excellent if you undertook a new translation of the Granth Sahib, which *certainly has not been treated well by Dr. Trumpp*; and the specimens which you gave us at the Paris Congress showed that your translation would be a very great improvement."

Sir Alfred Lyall, on receiving a specimen of my translation, wrote to me that it "seemed valuable, and quite worth a place among the Indian Scriptures ; and the pains that you have bestowed upon it will be much appreciated as evidence to the Sikhs of the interest taken by Englishmen in their religion."

Sir Lepel Griffin, who, while writing his life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, endeavoured to obtain some idea of the Sikh religion from Dr. Trumpp's book, wrote to me as follows : "I shall congratulate the Sikhs on obtaining a translator of

the Granth more lively, poetical, and intelligent than our elephantine friend Trumpp, who cost me many an anxious moment."

In addition to Dr. Trumpp's depreciation of the Granth Sahib, which the Sikhs regard as the embodiment of their Gurus, and to the slander of the Gurus themselves, he wrote in his sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs, which forms the introduction to his volume (pp. cix.-cx.) : " It is plain enough that in a religion, where the highest object of life is the extinction of individual existence, there can be no room for a system of mortal duties ; we need, therefore, hardly point out how wrong the statement of some authors is that Sikhism is a *moralizing deism.*" Thus, as Dr. Trumpp would not accept the interpretation of the Granth by the Gyanis or professional expounders, so he would not accept the conclusions of disinterested European scholars.

Similar statements were made by him in his German works on the Sikh religion. Thus, in his "Geschichte der Sikh Religion": " Ihre Religion hatte sich ohnmächtig erwiesen, den Character des Volkes sittlich zu heben, und es für ein geordnetes Staatswesen heranzubilden."

(The Sikh religion showed itself powerless to give moral elevation to the people, or to lay the foundation of an orderly political system.)

" Wenn die Triebfeder der Handlungen in den anerschaffenen drei Qualitäten zu suchen ist, so kann von einem liberum arbitrium keine Rede mehr sein ; so kann der Mensch dafür nicht verantwortlich gemacht werden, weil er seiner Naturanlage hilflos gegenübersteht."

(When the mainspring of actions is to be sought in the innate three qualities of matter, there can be no room for free-will. Consequently man cannot be held responsible for being helpless to restrain his natural inclinations.)

" Dass in einem solchen, auf pantheistischer Grundlage ruhenden System, das sein höchstes Ziel in der Aufhebung der individuellen Existenz sucht, eine Ethik keinen Platz finden kann, begreift sich von selbst."

(It is evident that in such a system, based on a pantheistic foundation, whose highest aim is the elevation of the existence of the individual, there is no room for morality.)

In a lecture which he delivered before the Academy of Sciences in Munich Dr. Trumpp said : "Der Begriff von Tugend in unserem Sinne des Worts ist daher dem Hinduismus, und so auch Nanak, ganz fremd ; jede Handlung vollzieht sich nach einem ausserhalb des Menschen liebenden Gesetz."

(The idea of virtue, as we understand it, is altogether alien to Hinduism and also to Nanak's religion. Every act of man is accomplished in accordance with a law over which he has no control.)

"Man sieht wie unrichtig es ist, wenn man den Sikhs eine sublime Moral hat andichten wollen, wie das Cunningham gethan hat ; man muss sich vielmehr darüber wundern, dass unter einer solchen Instruction ihr gesunder Sinn ihnen nicht ganz abhanden gekommen ist."

(We see how unjust it is to attribute, as Cunningham has done, a sublime morality to the Sikhs. We must the rather more wonder that, considering the instruction imparted to them, they have not forfeited whatever intelligence they possessed.)

Dr. Trumpp in the same lecture reproduces an obvious calumny of a Muhammadan historian, that Guru Teg Bahadur, a most saintly and inoffensive man, as shown by the internal evidence of his own writings, to say nothing of Sikh history and tradition, was arrested and executed on account of his marauding expeditions. On this Dr. Trumpp bases the following statement : "Die Moral der Sikhs war zur damaligen Zeit schon so verwirrt, und ihr Hass gegen die Muhammadaner so gross, dass sie Aufruhr gegen die bestehende Regierung und Plünderung der Muhammadaner für ganz erlaubte Dinge hielten."

(The morality of the Sikhs was at that time so confused, and their hatred of the Muhammadans so great, that they

regarded rebellion against the constituted Government and plundering the Muhammadans as quite justifiable acts.)

It was quite according to human nature that the Sikhs should retaliate on their enemies the indignities they suffered; but that they wantonly rebelled against the Government and plundered the Muhammadans is untrue.

Of Dr. Trumpp's literary style and his comprehension of the Granth I give a few examples :

A hymn of Ramanand in the Granth Sahib I have translated as follows :

"Whither shall I go, Sir? I am happy at home.
My heart will not go with me; it hath become a cripple.
One day I did have an inclination to go;
I ground sandal, took distilled aloe-wood, and many perfumes,
And was proceeding to worship God in a temple,
When my spiritual guide showed me God in my own heart.
Wherever I go I find only water or stones.
But Thou, O God, art equally contained in everything."

Dr. Trumpp's translation is as follows :

"Where shall it be gone, Sir? colour is applied to (my) house (=body).
My reasoning faculty does not move, my mind has become lame.
One day excessive joy has sprung up (in my) mind,
Having rubbed very fragrant sandal-perfume (on my body)
The Brahm (which) I go to worship,
That Brahm was shown (to me) by the Guru (as being) in (my) very mind.
Where one goes, there (in) water (and) stone
Thou art remaining brimful, being contained in all."

When Guru Nanak visited the Temple of Jagannath, he was invited by the High-Priest to join in adoration of the great idol. The lamp was lit for evening worship, and offerings to the gods were laid out on salvers studded with pearls. Around the temple were placed flowers, and a fan was employed to excite the flames of incense, generally an accessory of idolatrous worship. The Guru extemporized the following (I give my own translation) :

"The sun and moon, O Lord, are Thy lamps; the firmament Thy salver; the orbs of the star the pearls enchased in it;

"The perfume of the sandal is Thine incense ; the wind is Thy fan ; all the forests are Thy flowers, O Lord of light !"

The following is Dr. Trumpp's translation of these verses :

"The dish is made of the sky ; the sun and moon are the lamps ; the orbs of stars are, so to say, the pearls.

"The wind is incense-grinding ; the wind swings the fly brush ; the whole blooming wood is the flames (of the lamps)."

A line of Guru Arjan on the Creator is as follows :

"Oan, the one God, the great Guru, createth all things."

Dr. Trumpp translates this as follows :

"By the large mouth of the Om the forms are made."

Kabir, who was a weaver and also a mystic poet, compared the human body to a piece of cloth, and composed the following :

"Reason went to the soul to order *a body* to be woven—

"Let a full piece of nine yards, ten yards, and twenty-one yards be woven.

"Let there be sixty threads, nine joinings, and seventy-two cross-threads added :

"The soul then cometh, leaving its last abode."*

Dr. Trumpp thus construes :

"Nine yards, ten yards, twenty-one yards, one body is stretched out.

"Seven threads, nine sections, seventy-two woofs are, moreover, added to it).

"(The woman) goes to get it (=the semen) woven (in) a month.

"When the house is given up, the weaver goes."

Guru Arjan wrote the following in praise of Guru Nanak :

"When the merciful God vouchsafed mercy, the true Guru bestowed God's name.

"Through the Divine Guru who hath saved men in this iron age,

"The impure, the foolish, and the ignorant, all apply themselves to God's service."

* It is not necessary here to explain the mystic application of the words "yards" and "threads."

Dr. Trumpp interpreted this as follows :

"(On whom) by the kind Lord Himself mercy is bestowed, (to him) by the true Guru the name of Hari is given.

"The Kali-yug is saved by the Gurdev, who were perplexed and confounded by discharging behind and before (through terror) they all applied themselves to Thy service."

When I began my work on "The Sikh Religion" I occasionally consulted Dr. Trumpp's translation. It sometimes seemed to me plausible, but, when I consulted the Gyanis, they generally showed me its incorrectness and advised me to reject it. I soon found that it was necessary for me to keep his book at a considerable distance from my study, and rely solely on the Gyanis' interpretations.

I regret that I have not been able to give such a meed of praise to Dr. Trumpp's huge volume, and to his unquestionably great industry under very adverse circumstances, as would please some critics who regard his work as an exposition of the Sikh religion, and whose only knowledge of it has been obtained from him.

CENTRAL ASIA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

BRITISH *savants* do not appear to take an overpowering interest in the philological and ethnological aspects of High Asian research. It is true that Dr. M. Aurel Stein, representing the Indian Government, has followed up his very remarkable discoveries in the region of Khoten by some particularly interesting experiences and "finds" in the neighbourhood of Tun-hwang (Marco Polo's Sacciur). This took place between the months of March and May, 1907; but, as M. Paul Pelliot (who followed upon Dr. Stein's tracks in March, 1908) truly observes : "Un sinologue seul, à ce qu'il me semble, peut relever et utiliser, pour l'explication et l'histoire de ces monuments, les milliers de cartouches et de *graffiti* qui les accompagnent"; and, in fact, in a letter to me, dated February 20, 1910, Dr. Stein himself modestly observes : "I had to concentrate my efforts upon obtaining as much as possible of those portions the value of which, as a non-sinologue, I could probably judge of." And again : "M. Pelliot had the advantage of being able to search through the great mass of Chinese texts as a sinologue of full competence, and to make his selections accordingly." But so far no Englishman has done for Turkestan and its Chinese documents what Colonel Waddell has so brilliantly accomplished for Tibetan.

Perhaps it would not come amiss were I to give here

a short sketch of the position in High Central Asia from the earliest times known to us, and to suggest why British Sinologues, Persologues, Arabologues, Hellenologues, and "King Logs" generally should "wake up" in this matter, and, transmogrifying themselves for the nonce into King Storks, should endeavour to pick up a few ethnophilological Batrachians for themselves. Here, as elsewhere, the history of the world may yet tell us many things through pottery, gravestones, and miscellaneous implements after excavations on a large scale; but meanwhile there is ample material almost on the surface in the shape of art and literary remains alone, and undoubtedly the political history of the human race is everywhere practically co-extensive with (1) the discovery of writing, (2) the adoption and adaptation of already discovered written forms by nations which had no script of any kind before, and (3) the application of this science of writing to social and political development. When there are no written records discoverable, there can be little precise intelligence touching human intellectual development at any given date. According to Sir Ray Lankester, remains have been found in geological deposits which prove that, 50,000 years or more ago, men had already reached a stage of civilization which enabled them to carve quite artistically upon bone, to tame horses (at first possessing five toes instead of one), and to utilize these and other animals for social and economical purposes; but nothing accurate can be predicated of man's political and social development unless written records remain to tell us what events the ancient men thought worth recording; and business-like records more than 8,000 years old seem to be very rare in any part of the world, even if they exist at all, except in the form of prayers, objurgations, or mere signs and hints.

If we leave out for the present all consideration of the Hindoo, Indo-Chinese, and Tibetan races, which came later into political contact with China, we find that from the earliest times the Chinese were persistently threatened by

horse-riding nomads from the north, north-east, and north-west; and however much we may choose to differentiate the modern representatives of these nomads, we seem to be thrown back upon the conclusion that they nearly all belonged (as they do now) to the "Turkish" race, in the same loose sense that we talk of the Latin race, the Teutonic race, the Negro race, the American-Indian race, and so on. This race, under the comparatively new name of Hiung-nu, became particularly formidable to the Chinese at about the same time that the Scythians became particularly formidable to the Greeks and Persians. Probably at no time did the whole nomad population, extending from the Russian plain to Corea, ever exceed half a million fighting cavaliers under one domination, a million cavaliers in all, or five million men, women, slaves, and children; and they all lived a roaming life in tents or on horseback, their basic wealth being pasture and water for their flocks and herds. Chinese dynastic history makes it quite plain that the word "Turk" was first recorded (if, indeed, it ever existed before) in the sixth century A.D.; moreover, that the Turks, who are easily traceable step by step in their progress from China to Constantinople, were a branch of the Hiung-nu. The modern word "Turkish" is therefore only here used as a convenient makeshift. Discoveries *in situ* of bilingual or trilingual inscriptions made within the past twenty years prove much of this general statement conclusively, and show at least that where it has been found possible to check the *data* of Chinese history by comparison with Greek, Persian, Arab, Turkish, or other documents, the Chinese records have always proved to be the fullest and the best. Their very unimaginative and rule-of-thumb defects, their total absence of proportion and perspective, are, indeed, their chief virtue from a retrospective point of view. The recent hauls of thousands upon thousands of valuable Chinese documents made by M.M. Stein and Pelliot add more confirmation, if confirmation were required, of the *bona fides* and exactitude of

Chinese official history. True, these documents, which have laid almost untouched, in perfect and safe concealment, for nearly a thousand years, only take us back for a little more than a millennium, whereas the Turkish inscriptions recently deciphered (from which, by the way, much of the ancient Turkish language has been reconstructed by Thomsen and Radloff) deal with events from three to five hundred years still farther back; but if each successive discovery leads us to the conclusion—as it infallibly seems to do—that we may implicitly trust the soundness of all serious Chinese records, except, of course, when Chinese critics themselves point out defects, then we are justified in believing that still more ancient records will probably be equally trustworthy, that literary good faith is, so to speak, an inborn national characteristic, and we shall be encouraged to persevere in our diggings and our searchings. To take one instance. The inscription on the bronze bowl known as "Dr. S. W. Bushell's bowl," at present deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is now admitted by the ex-Viceroy Twanfang (who is one of the highest authorities on the subject) to be genuine, although he confesses that he had difficulty in believing in the fact before; this bowl inscription is confirmed in almost every detail by the oldest standard Chinese history, and, for business-like statement of fact is, besides, almost as old, certainly as valuable, as any of the oldest Babylonian and Egyptian documents treating of political affairs with equal precision. Moreover, it alludes to specific and dated facts, corroborated by other passages in standard history, in connection with those nomad attacks upon China which directly touch the main "Turkish" question we are now considering. Excavations in connection with the opening up of mines and railways are now actively going on all over China, and antique potteries or bronzes are turning up on every side. In addition to this, the Chinese Government and literary body have begun to see the importance of conserving literary antiquities, so that we may hope to discover fresh evidences year by year.

Struck by the extraordinary interest aroused by considerations similar to these now advanced, Alexander Csoma, a Hungarian from the town of Körös, started out for High Asia about eighty years ago in order to endeavour to discover the original home of the Magyar race. In this he was not successful, but his wanderings at least resulted in the production of a dictionary of the Tibetan language. The Chinese dynastic history for the Mongol period (thirteenth century) mentions the Magyars distinctly under the name of Ma-cha-r, and in company with the names of the Russians, Alans, Cherkess, and various tribes through which it may be ultimately possible to trace the progress of the Hungarians from Asia into Europe. Another Hungarian, M. Némäti Kálmán, or, as most Europeans would usually write it (transposing the family name, which the Hungarians significantly place first, in Turkish and Chinese fashion), M. Koloman Nemethi, has now, with extraordinary energy, set himself to the difficult task of tracing his countrymen back to the Scythians, the Hiung-nu, the Fauni or Dæmons, the Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols—that is to say, to that group of Turk or Turkoid tribes which, from time immemorial, have harried the northern frontiers of all the settled peoples of Europe and Asia, from the Danube to the Yalu. In the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* M. Némäti favours us with a précis translation of his Hungarian summary, which shows clearly at least that he finds no difficulty in accepting the latest conclusions of the sinological body that the Huns of Europe were practically the Hiung-nu of China, or the Turks, as they began to be called during the sixth century. Whichever ten or twenty thousand horsemen happened to fall under the immediate leadership of a man of genius speedily swept up the neighbouring tribal units more or less closely in each instance ethnologically allied to themselves, proceeding then, like a rolling snowball, to engulf or assimilate the farther tribes; or in some cases the eponymous leader, whilst not sufficiently powerful or influential to annex the

whole nomad plains, felt himself strong enough to separate entirely from the main stock, and, either on his original camping-ground or, after emigration, farther westwards, in a newly-acquired pasture-land, to set up a rival main centre of his own. Thus we have to deal also with the Abdals (=Ephthalite Turks, or Indo-Scythians); possibly, also, with their predecessors in Afghanistan, the Parthians; the Mongoloid Sien-pi or Wu-hwan; with that branch of the same Sien-pi which ruled North China as Emperors; with the other branch which migrated to the Kokonor region, absorbed a number of detached Tibetan, Turkish, and Mongol units, and finally formed the powerful empire of Tangut, ultimately destroyed by Genghis Khan; with the Ouigour Turks; with the Mongoloid Kitans or Cathayans, who also ruled over North China, and gave their name to be used by the Mongols and the Russians in lieu of the Hindoo name Chi-na or "China"; with the Nüchêns or earlier Juchi (Marco Polo's Cicorgia or Chorcha), who drove out the Kitans, and were themselves ejected by the Mongols proper: these in turn had to give way to the native Chinese dynasty of Ming, whose place was usurped two centuries and a half ago by the *later* Juchi, or Manchus.

The above are the leading tribes that have left their names most strongly and permanently impressed upon Chinese political history; but in connection with each of them innumerable other tribes or sub-tribes are also mentioned, each of which might equally well have become world-renowned had the same opportunities offered, advantage of which, on each occasion offering, was taken by their more astute or luckier rivals at psychological moments. It is from this wilderness of proper names—often hopelessly disguised in their clumsy Chinese dress—that we hope ultimately to extract proof of the origin and movements of the same or other tribes known to Europe by totally different names. Thus we have already traced the Alans or Azes and the Khazar Turks, whose position on the map may yet guide us to the movements of the

"Machar," or Hungarians, who (I have always understood) are more akin linguistically to the Finns and Lapps than to the Turks. The Avars, hitherto supposed to be that still unidentified Turko-Mongoloid desert power known to the Chinese as Jwe-jwe, or Jwan-jwan (friends of the Ephthalites and immediate masters of the Turks, who ultimately destroyed them), were almost certainly not the Jwe-jwe, but the Yüeh-pan or Yeban (= Ebar or Avar), the last of the true Hiung-nu to rule a powerful State in Asia, who suddenly and mysteriously disappeared towards the unknown West just before Persia and the Turks between them destroyed the last vestiges of the Ephthalite power. After this disappearance the Avars are never once again mentioned in any Chinese connection.

As M. Pelliot, one of the latest and most successful of literary explorers, informs us, Captain Bower in 1889 purchased at Kuchar (once a great monarchy whose history is perfectly well known to us through purely Chinese sources) a Hindu manuscript. A few years later M. Grenard brought from Khoten the oldest Hindu manuscript known up to that date. M. Petrovski, Russian Consul at Kashgar, succeeded in turn in acquiring quite a series of documents. All the world knows what literary treasures MM. Stein and Sven Hedin have since that discovered and brought to us from Khoten and Taklā-makan. The first purely archaeological mission, however, was that organized in 1897 at St. Petersburg under M. Klementz, and quite a harvest of documents was secured from the Turfan region, not to mention the bilingual Turkish inscriptions of Kara-balgassan, which a year or two earlier had led to the discovery and fairly complete reconstruction of old Turkish script. A Congress of Orientalists at Rome in 1900 set about organizing an international exploration for the exploration of Central Asia. This was definitely organized at the Hamburg Congress of 1902. Meanwhile the Indian Government had, in 1900-1901, utilized the valuable services of Dr. M. Aurel Stein; and Germany, in 1902, sent Professor

Grünwedel to pursue at Turfan the pioneer work of Dr. Klementz; these labours were supplemented by M. Von Lecoq, and lasted over five years in all. Hindu, Sogdien, Turk, and Manichean manuscripts were unearthed in considerable numbers. Finally, M. Paul Pelliot left Paris in the summer of 1906, and found himself treading in the tracks of Grünwedel and the Russian Berezovski. Nor must I forget to mention the expedition of which Dr. Berthold Laufer (Columbia University) is a member, if not the chief. He wrote to me in 1907 to say that he was just about to start, and I believe he has already been reported on his way back *via* Si-an Fu. Dr. Stein, as already explained, was ahead of M. Pelliot at Tun-hwang, and had already secured a number of art and literary treasures from the Thousand Buddha Grotto at that place before the sagacious M. Pelliot, in 1908, made his great haul of eighty large cases of sculptures, paintings, and manuscripts, from 600 to 1,200 years old, all now safe in Paris. A more recent Russian expedition (not mentioned, of course, by M. Pelliot), headed by the Imperial Academician, Mr. S. F. Oldenburg, in the month of June last year visited the oases of Turfar, Harashar, and Kuchar; with valuable results.

Where does England come in? It is true, Colonel Younghusband and Major Bruce have gone over a considerable part of the historical ground traversed by Marco Polo, and Dr. Morrison, the Peking correspondent to the *Times*, is now on his way to Europe, having visited Ho-nan Fu and Si-an Fu (the old Chinese capitals so mixed up with Turkish and Ouigour-Manichean history); Lan-chou Fu, where the new German* bridge has just been constructed over the Yellow River; Urumtsi, the ancient Turkish centre; Aksu and Kashgar; having already apparently visited on his

* It was, according to Dr. Morrison, a German firm that secured the contract; but it was a British engineer in that firm's service who designed it, and the bridge itself was made in New York, and actually put together at Lan-chou by an American engineer.

way the following historical places : Liang-chou (Erguiul), Kanchou (Campichu), Suh-chou (Succiur), Sha-chou (Tun-hwang, or Sacciu). He mentions, but apparently did not himself inspect, the Thousand Buddha Grottoes. Major Bruce actually spent some time at Tun-hwang without even hearing of the existence of the Thousand Buddha Grotto so close at hand, not to speak of the ancient manuscripts discovered in one of those grottoes by the Taoist priest Wang, who so obligingly "traded off" some thousands of his precious documents to M.M. Stein and Pelliot in turn. I see that quite recently Lieutenant Etherton has been exploring Chinese Turkestan; it remains to be seen with what historical results. It would not be amiss if the British Government, Oriental Societies, Geographical Society, or some other body or bodies interested in Central Asian exploration were to include M. Némäti in the staff of an entirely new and independent British exploring party ; or, possibly, the Hungarian Government, which is never behind-hand in matters of scientific knowledge and research, might be disposed to intrust to M. Némäti himself the duty of organizing an expedition, having in view as part of its task the discovery of the true origin and migratory path of the Hungarian race. M. Némäti seems to have trained himself so assiduously to habits of physical activity and self-denial that it would seem almost possible for him to exist at a pinch on no other nourishment* than the sands of

* According to the *Magyar Irbk Élete és Munkái*, which seems to be a kind of national biography of authors, published under the auspices of the Hungarian Académie, M. Némäti figures first of all as a "pedagogue to his co-nationals," born in September, 1855, and author since 1892 of numerous works in the Hungarian tongue, some of them upon the subject of the Turks and Khazars; he is also the author (1896) of a rather remarkable work in German upon the ideal diet of man (*Diät-Gesetz*). It is specially in connection with this latter subject that I may, perhaps, be permitted to enter into a few personal remarks, and describe a curious, not to say amusing, episode in M. Némäti's career, which proves at least that he is nothing if not thorough. At the age of thirty-three it appears that he had been immensely struck with the vegetarian principles practically inculcated by Professor Vincenz Weixlgärtner, and had come to the conclusion (like a kind of latter-day Hungarian Tolstoy) that the "pleasures"

Taklâ-makan itself ; in any case, the amount of enthusiasm he has already brought to bear upon the obscure subject of the Turko-Scythian races and their history specially marks him out as a fitting person to undertake such a duty. The distinguished American traveller, Dr. W.

of Society were but Dead Sea fruit, and that the ordinary fashionable life of the day was quite a mistake, both for body and mind. First of all, then, acting upon these views, he denied himself the pleasures of shooting and the chase ; next, in 1889, tobacco-smoking and games at cards went by the board ; after which "spirituous drinks" of all kinds (beer, it is presumed, included) were consigned to oblivion ; then followed flesh meats of all descriptions, and pastry in turn ; the various "narcotic drinks" sold at cafés, "greasy delicacies" (*fette Bissen*) of all varieties; milk, cheese, eggs ; and, finally, cakes and biscuits (*Zuckerbackereien*), and even the "common or garden" bread—all these M. Némáti seems to have decided were unnecessary for the adequate nourishment of the body—for *mens sana in corpore sano*—and really caused mankind more physical trouble than physical satisfaction. His relatives and friends gradually fell off (and certainly, with all this self-denial, he could not have been a very convivial personage at this time), finally avoiding both him and his "master," the Professor, as a pair of qualifying lunatics. Apparently his whilom pupils gradually fled the unexhilarating scene, too, for, after two years of steadfast bearing up against all social discouragements, he found not only that he had lost his friends, but that his precarious pedagogical earnings of about £120 a year had dwindled to a few uncertain pence a day. Not to be beaten by unappreciative mankind, however, he now resolved to do without money and "civilized" things altogether, betaking himself to the simplest and most primitive, not to say primeval, form of life. He found a congenial retreat in the shape of an abandoned bears' den somewhere in a secluded part of the Mátra Mountains, near his native village or town of Szécsény (pronounced very simply, in spite of its impossible appearance, as *Say-chay-ni*). Of this he took incontinent possession, rigging himself up a study and bedroom combined, in Robinson Crusoe fashion, out of "a pair of wooden balks and a heap of fragrant grasses." He acted as his own tailor, stitching himself together a shirt out of coarse linen (we are not told what garment he wore whilst this famous shirt was in progress of building), to which he added a cowl or hood. Spring water and wild fruits were his sole nourishment, but (it is significantly added) this exclusive fare was occasionally eked out by well-wishing rustics, who sought him out from amid his ursine surroundings, in order to listen to his vegetarian sermons ; and then out of gratitude, in the guise of pure gifts, without truck or condition, furnished him with wheat, noble fruits, and bread (presumably not of the "common or garden" kind above mentioned). His degenerate carcass (*Staubhülle*), long since weakened by indulgence in the ordinary pleasures of town life, speedily revived under this drastic treatment ; his

Edgar Geil, has just returned to London after exploring all the capitals of China; if the learned doctor would only see fit to transfer his energies to Central Asia, he and M. Némäti between them might yet achieve great things in the direction of historical research.

blood was purified, his body strengthened, his spirits raised, and his mind cleared—in a word, he found an unspeakable joy in life he had never experienced before. *Er war Theilhaber des Heils!* I must not forget to mention “sun-baths, air-baths, water-baths, and earth-baths,” which last, I suppose, means that my respected friend rolled himself about naked in the glorious mud, when combined sun, air, and water failed to come up to scratch.

To a certain extent M. Némäti seems to have received official recognition in his new status, for his *Legimationsskarte* of September 30, 1891, describes him as a *Wissenschaftlicher Forscher* by profession, evangelical (Augsburg Confession) by religion, thirty-six years of age, of medium height, longish face, grey eyes, regular mouth, and shapely (*gehörig*) nose. His special points (*besondere Kennzeichen*) are—or were then—“long hair and beard; goes bareheaded and barefoot; wears as clothing a long sack-shirt and cowl (*Kutte*)”; to this later published description a portrait (taken in 1896) is appended, depicting a decidedly good-looking man (wearing, however, as a concession to effete civilization, a collar beneath a plain high-cut jacket). By 1894 M. Némäti had so far succeeded in reingratiating himself with the world that his daily earnings as *Tagschreiber* had reached the sum of 80 *kreuzer* (say eighteenpence); a year and a half after which he obtained an official appointment—apparently the one he now holds of *Föposta Könyvtár*, or Librarian to the (Budapest) Post-Office—bringing him in nearly one and a half *gulden* (140 *kreuzer*) a day, one-third of which—in 1896 at least—amply sufficed him for food, clothing, rent, and all personal wants; the remaining two-thirds were dutifully contributed to the support of near relatives, and to various club and society subscriptions.

A man with these abstemious habits and unconquerable determination is clearly cut out for Central Asian exploration.

MUHAMMADAN INFLUENCES.

By J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A.

A SMALL grain of seed in fertile ground may yield abundant harvest. The finding by Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria among the Wittelsbach heirlooms of some old Persian carpets, led to the opening at Munich of an exhibition purposing to display the most important still existing productions of Muhammadan art, which must be regarded as the highest expression of artistic attainment in mediæval Europe and stands unequalled up to this day. Great success has crowned the undertaking. To begin with, independent of industrial and mechanical revelations, and the lessons of a brilliant technique, the public at large have been informed what Muhammadan art really is, what influence it exercised on our present conditions of life. The term comprises a vast range of artistic activity. Arabic art is but a part, and not even the most potent part, of this manifestation of oriental thought and manual skill, though the religion of the Arabs welded all its efforts together into one harmonious whole. In fact, assimilating the æsthetic tendencies of the different countries it conquered to satisfy a fervent religious impulse, al-Islām, after the example set by its parent in his piecemeal delivery of the Book, acted on the principle underlying all strong currents of mental endeavour translated into deeds of whatever import : *Je prends mon bien où je le trouve.* Marvellously exempt of the bigotry, intolerance and contempt for ideas not their own, alleged against them by

partial critics, the Arabs, in their process of acclimatisation, proved themselves anything but destroyers. Such stories as the burning of the library of Alexandria by command of Caliph Omar, inventions of too zealous historians who concluded *a priori* that "Mahoune's hell-hounds" were capable of the worst outrages, have been utterly confuted. Concerning their behaviour in Egypt, M. Gayet has, moreover, shown that the armies of Amru did no more demolish the Coptic monuments, the Christian churches and monasteries, than the once famous library. Many of those structures are still standing; ancient Coptic woodwork, pottery, textile fabrics, painting, objects carved in ivory, still preserved, thirteen centuries after the Muhammadan invasion, would fill twenty museums. In Egypt, and also in Syria, the Arabs found art traditions which owed their development to Byzantine influences; in Mesopotamia they found a civilisation under whose sway the imagination of the Greeks before them had been taught to combine vividness of detail with majesty of dimension; in Persia they found art formulas only waiting for the message of new spiritual life to blossom forth into those splendid achievements destined to change the artistic perceptions, the aspirations, the morals, the general aspect of cultured society both East and West. When the seat of the Caliphate was removed from Damascus to Kufa, and later to Baghdad, a great revolution took place in the upper strata of the Islamitic world. If the simplicity of the first Caliphs had already been discarded by the Ommayyad rulers, the splendour of even their courts paled before the magnificence and luxury of the Abbassides. Persian tendencies, encouraged by closer connections with the regions across the Tigris, permeated the vast area of Muhammadan dominion, and wherever the conquerors had adopted the artistic conceptions of the conquered, they now, reciprocally, diffused elements of art hitherto unknown and of the highest consequence.

Not without a taste for learning, even in the days of

ignorance, these reputed takers of spoil rendered the most important services to philosophy and science in the widest sense. Greek metaphysics, says Renan, came to us by the roundabout way of Syria, Baghdad, Cordova and Toledo. The Caliph Abu Jafar laid the foundation for a systematic study of the exact sciences; his successors, especially Mamoon, the Augustus of the Arabs, protected learning and the learned to the best of their ability, themselves proficient in different branches of study. Not to mention letters, jurisprudence, history and geography, the Muhammadan scholars became adepts in mathematics, astronomy (along the forbidden path of astrology), chemistry (by reason of their experiments in alchemy), botany and medicine. It was in Roha, Muhammadan Edessa, that mineral and organic substances were first analysed with a view to their medicinal properties; western potentates sought relief in sickness at the hands of eastern physicians, consulted them for sundry kinds of disability, as King Sancho I. of Leon did for his growing corpulence; the school of Salerno owed its renown in Italy and Europe to improvements upon the treasured wisdom of famous eastern practitioners: Mesua, Razes, Avicenna, Albucasis, Ibn Zohar, Averroës, Ibn Bithar, Isa bin Ishak, Khalaf bin Abbas az-Zahrawi, who, in favour with the great of the earth, nevertheless stood always ready for gratis treatment of the poor and miserable. In a time when among the Christians only a few of the clergy were able to read and write, the Muhammadans became in western lands the representatives of science and art, Muhammadan capitals the centres of scientific and artistic energy. The first western academy, founded in imitation of the East, was that of Toledo, soon followed by similar institutions in other cities of Muhammadan Spain. The spirit of inquiry thus propagated had a quickening influence on Christianity; students from Greece, Italy, England, Germany and France, flocked to the Moslem seats of learning, e.g. Gerbert of Aurillac, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. Educa-

tion on a lower plane was, however, not neglected for the sake of higher research. As Sala ed-Din, at a later period, opened *medreseh's* in Egypt, on the Persian plan, so Okba, when succeeding Abd'al-Malik, opened primary schools throughout the European province of the Caliphate for all classes of the population. The independent Emirs and Caliphs of Cordova observed the same policy and Hakim II. could boast that in his kingdom, at least in his capital and the surrounding district, not even the meanest and lowest lacked a sufficient knowledge of the three R's. Private citizens of means like Ahmad bin Said bin Cawtoor of Toledo, organised societies for the pursuit of knowledge, or, Carnegies of their age, endowed universities, followed the example of their Sovereign in founding public libraries. Woman's claim for adequate instruction received proper attention. Up to a certain age the two sexes partook on equal terms of the founts of lore; after that the girls went to separate colleges, among which some of outstanding merit, e.g. the young ladies' finishing academy of Maryam, daughter of Abu Yacub al-Fasioli, who turned out a good many *bas-bleus*, eminent in their generation. As to the facilities for the training of boys, scions of illustrious Christian houses were sent among the Moslems to be "upbrought in gentle thewes and martial might," to get the benefit of sound discipline and acquire the polish of a gentleman. A prince like Alfonsus the Great of Asturia, confided his second son, Ordoño, to the care of Ibn Fortun and Ibn Musa. Cordova, then the most populous and opulent city in Europe, set the fashion in good breeding; Christian travellers marvelled at the enlightened condition even of the common people; erudition and refinement brightened social intercourse, often through the medium of male and female slaves, beautiful and wise, like the sweet-lipped Mozna, dangerous rival of az-Zahra in the affection of Abd'ar-Rahman an-Nasir's riper years, or Lobna, the silver-tongued favourite of Hakim II.; next in esteem to his talented, though rather pragmatic consort Zubeiha.

Lovers of poetry from the most remote times, the Arabs glory in a language, rich and flexible beyond compare, which never failed to exercise its charms on converts to al-Islām and non-converts alike, on whoever surmounts the first difficulties of mastering that wonderful vehicle of subtlest thought in clearest, most attractive form. The connection between the two is so intimate that it seems almost, to repeat a remark of Von Schack, as if Arab poetry were written to elucidate obscure questions of grammar. Once under the spell of Arab speech, the conquered nations vied with the conquerors in studying it, Persian grammarians leading, Sibavaihi and Zadjadj at the top of the list. The countries on the western frontier did not lag behind in literary exertion. Though disturbed by incessant warfare, agitated by enemies without and within, the restless heart of Spain overflowed in ardent lyrics when the play of arms subsided for a short space, as the water in a vessel forcibly swung round remains quiet while in motion, but spills when brought to rest. The Caliphs of Cordova, several of them no mean poets themselves, had their laureates whom they honoured not less than Haroon ar-Rashid the impudent Abu Nawas. They cultivated music and made much of composers and musicians, Abd'ar-Rahman II. not considering it beneath his dignity to ride forth from his palace, meeting at the town gate and welcoming Zaryab, whom he had called to Andalusia. Some of our musical instruments have been invented or perfected by the Arabs ; they introduced, or at least reduced solmisation to a system of their own, improved the arts that soothe and elevate, while the Goths, the Franks and other Germanic races, *indocti quod a musis atque gratiis absentes*, still were plunged in intellectual darkness. Masters of romantic fiction, the Spanish Moslems had no slight share in the distribution among western peoples of those fruits of eastern imagination, fables, etc., which impressed our literature and dramatic beginnings hardly less than their lyrical effusions. Eastern influence reveals itself every-

where ; many and various have been its routes of travel from Syria, Egypt, Maghrebine Africa, to Spain, Italy with Sicily, Middle and North Europe. What is, for instance, harlequin, the hero of our embryonic theatricals, but a cousin of Kara Gyooz, the buffoon of the Turkish puppet-show, and his noisy sword of lath but the stripped palm-branch, the Egyptian *mikra'ah*? And what are the Provençal troubadours but the successors of the Arab minstrels ; the *tensons* and *jeux partis* but the continuation of Arab wit-combats ; the courts of love, the *académies des jeux floraux*, the *collèges de la gaie science*, but the evolution of poetic contests, as held at the fair of Ocatz and other Arab gatherings, echoes of Arab gallantry and révérential regard for the eternal feminine ? Taking commandment from fair eyes, in allegiance and fast fealty to the queen of his heart, with love as the loftiest theme of his song, the Arab broke ground for *trouvère* and *minnesinger*. Entering upon his Islāmic career, he has been accused of lowering the condition of woman. Arabic poetry teaches how profoundly the tender passion stirred his mind ; history how faithful his attachment, how absolute his submission, how deep his grief at the loss of his chosen one. Yazid II. died of sorrow and remorse at the accident which took the comely Habiba away ; the Prophet himself, in his relation to Ayesha, set the example of a patient, henpecked husband. No wonder that Christian ladies, even of the noblest birth, far from sharing a prejudice, diligently promoted for reasons of Church and State, were nothing loth to contract matrimonial alliances with Moslems. Nature dodges doctrine. They felt instinctively attracted to the men who brought from the East, together with fine clothes and female ornament of every description, a chivalrous disposition, views of life in which they played an important part. The Arabs raised her to dignity, paying homage to the scholarship of the accomplished Aïsha, to the literary attainments of poetesses like Safia and Rahdia, stars of delight, whose words were strung pearls. Unwilling to forego the ameni-

ties of social intercourse which result from the cult of woman; they accorded her a place of honour, not only to embellish and refine earthly existence, but, by her natural graces, to add to the depth of its enjoyment. Western manners and, in necessary consequence, the position of woman, improved by contact with the East. It is not without cause that chivalry in its European aspect began to flourish in Spain. Before Cervantes should expose it to ridicule after it had run mad, thanks to its hyperbolic interpretation by frantic knights-errant in search of adventure, would-be Galahads and Palmerins, the crusades gave it a second impulse and, stimulating western imagination by further commerce with the eastern champions of pure womanhood, helped to prepare Christian religious ardour for the worship of the Holy Virgin-Mother, the deification of Mary, Queen of Heaven.

Moslem chivalry, with deeds of romantic daring and generosity when on the war-path, with the emancipation of woman as a concern of peace, has more than tournaments and floral games to its credit. There is, e.g., the institution of armorial bearings: at the exhibition in Munich were potsherds, found near Fostat and dating from the time of the Mamlook dynasties, with interesting heraldic ornament, illustrative of the influence exercised on western heraldry by eastern emblazoned ensigns. Another very suggestive relic consisted of a bath of faience, found in al-Hambra and illustrative of a precious quality which adorned the Moslem *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* additional to his excellence in arms and letters, his courage and integrity, viz. the virtue which comes next to godliness. How much personal cleanliness distinguished the Spanish Muhammadans from the Celtiberians and intruders from the North, Vandals, Alans, Suevians and Goths with their descendants, may be derived from the circumstance that later, after the expulsion of those false faytors, indulgence in soap aroused the gravest suspicion of criminal sympathy with their idolatry; adherence to the devilish

custom of tubbing betokened surrender to the anti-Christ, punishable as such by the strong arm of the Church. The Emirs of Cordova built mosques, palaces, schools, hostels for students, inns for travellers, orphanages, hospitals, public baths, aqueducts, reservoirs and bridges. Alfonso the Chaste, emulous of their architectural renown and first of the Asturian kings to follow where they led, confined himself to churches, monasteries and royal residences. Striving after grandeur of habitation, pomp and parade, he and his successors did not possess, however, the artistic sense which made oriental luxury acceptable to good taste and reconciles us with the lavish expenditure of the Caliphs East and West. What savoured of extravagance at the courts of Oviedo and Leon, came natural to the courts of Baghdad and Cordova in a prodigality of magnificence almost exceeding belief. Another excuse for the seemingly wasteful constructive fever of the Moslem rulers was their solicitude for the needy and temporarily unemployed. The erection of towers for the protection of pilgrims and of milestones to guide them on the roads to Mecca, the establishment of a military camp at Wasit and such works, undertaken in the East for public convenience or political advantage; the restoration of the walls of Sevilla and other cities demolished by the Normans, the equipment of fleets, the laying out of extensive gardens on the banks of the Guadalquivir, etc., in the Western Caliphate, provided labour and wages for thousands of hands in slack times. Agrarian legislature had the Arabs' careful consideration; clever irrigation increased the fertility of the soil; their ingenious system of canalisation, their adroitness in levelling the arable fields by means of an instrument of their own invention, excited the wonder of foreign beholders. The *Tribunal de Aguas* held every Thursday in the Plaza de la Seo of Valencia, still testifies to the simple and satisfactory Moorish statutes which regulated the distribution of water; Abu Zaharia's treatise on agriculture in the library of the Escorial shows how far

advanced the Arabs were in that branch of science. They introduced into the Iberian peninsula and Sicily the date-palm, the sugar-cane, the cotton plant, rice, spinach, saffron, etc.; the cultivation of wheat was restricted to their own wants, because the Qurān forbids trafficking in the necessities of life, silos of a peculiar arrangement being used to garner the superfluous after a plentiful harvest. In imitation of Caliphs who amused themselves with gardening between giving judgment and investing and displacing, it became fashionable with the great and wealthy to repair for a season to their property in the country, where they assisted their servants in sowing and reaping. Horticulture was ranked among the fine arts. What the celebrated gardens were like, Ruzafa's and al-Munia's, may be inferred from the *jardines* of al-Kasr at Sevilla, however rearranged by Don Pedro the Cruel to please Maria de Padilla; but the Guadamar and alas! many, many more, shared the fate of the park of az-Zahra, a garden of the gardens of Paradise, destroyed without leaving a trace of its joys. The unspeakable Arab and Moor delighted in flowers, as they did in poetry and music; their revels were not complete without roses above all, and of roses first the roses of Murcia, whose perfume put musk and *nedd* to shame. Their orchards yielded variety of fruit, which they knew how to preserve and to convert into jams and jellies and sherbets. They were confectioners *de primo cartello*, as everyone will agree who has tasted *zagra*, and the sweetmeats prepared with the petals of violets, that *haute nouveauté* of the 'eighties, are also of ancient eastern origin. With oriental conserves, delicious oriental dishes of more substantial cookery might enrich the western cuisine to great advantage of palate and stomach, e.g. *baklaweh*, *zardeh*, *sikbaj*, *kataif*, *aseedeh*, *mineeneh*, whose composition can be looked up in Lane's notes to his translation of the Arabian Nights, while specialists, as the chef of the *Türkische Garküche* at the Munich Exhibition, can be depended upon for hints regard-

ing the satisfactory realisation of his recipes. Why should not the same success attend the popularisation of such *exotica* as crowned the efforts of Kolschitzky, Count Starhemberg's valet, who taught the inhabitants of Vienna how to prepare the coffee they found in Kara Mustapha's camp after the retreat of the Turks in 1683? The keepers of the coffee-houses in Vienna erected a statue to the father of their lucrative trade; Austria is now reckoned among the best markets for prime Mocha and Java coffee; the Vienna Café has won favour in all continental cities; the whole Teutonic world begins to imitate the Viennese custom of the afternoon *Jause*, in which the delicious beverage, mostly in the form of *Wiener Mélange*, divides honours with the *Kipfel*, the crescent-shaped pastry, creation of a Vienna baker to commemorate the providential delivery of his beloved Vindabona.

Charles VII. of France, by reason of his companies of ordonnance, has been called the father of the standing army in European lands; we have the authority of Ibn Khaldoun for the statement that Hakim I., Emir of Cordova, six centuries previous, besides his bodyguard, kept a large number of armed men, who received regular pay. Lieutenant-General Tyrrell informs us that not only the showy grenadier cap was copied from the Yanissary headgear, but that the first essays in the uniform dressing and equipping of troops were made in the East. According to Hallam, there is hardly any doubt that gunpowder came to Europe through the intermediary of the Saracens; its use in war is mentioned about the year 1249 by an Arab writer in the Escorial collection. Another Arab writer seems to describe the use of cannon, the iron engine "with windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught," in 1312 and 1323. Sébillot speaks of the use of a kind of bombs during the siege of Mecca as far back as 690. To turn from the arts of war to the arts of peace, the last-named author strongly asserts that the Arabs availed themselves of the properties of the loadstone in navigation, the deter-

mination of the azimuth, of the *keblah*, etc., at a stage which upsets the claims of Amalfi and tallies with Boucher's note that Edrisi, about 1100, shows a certain knowledge of the polarity of the magnet. If we have to do with Chinese inventions, both in regard of gunpowder and the compass, the Arabs at least promulgated them to the West, not otherwise than they divulged the secrets of the manufacture of paper from silk, from cotton, from rags and cordage. The law of the Prophet, *sunnat* and *hadith* were a potent factor in the spread of industrial processes which resulted from eastern discoveries in the field of applied science, by encouraging mental and manual labour, commerce, arts and crafts. Governors of provinces, commanders of armies, scholars of distinction, took pride in being called such a one, the tent-maker, the jeweller, the druggist, the tailor, or the son of the tent-maker, etc., after the occupation they had been bred to. Muhammadan education was not deemed complete unless one had mastered some mechanical trade which should afford the means of sustenance for self and family in days of adversity. Many Moslem princes surpassed ordinary professional skill in the exquisite work of their hands. Together with a sparkling phantasy, the Semitic mentality of the Arabs displayed great power of observation and ready appreciation of practical effect. When they subdued Spain, the mercantile enterprise of Mauretania, under their guidance, at once sought an outlet in Andalusia, soon extending to the northern provinces : factories were established and the mineral riches of the peninsula, already known to the Phoenicians, were explored, shafts sunk, gold, silver, copper and iron mines opened. With agriculture and cattle-raising, industrial efficiency enriched the country, which reached a degree of prosperity and culture never attained before by any Christian state, and fated to decline, as it had risen, with Moslem dominion. Like the wood of the *ghada* tree, Arabic civilisation gave out a fierce heat while burning, lighting up the barbarism of mediæval Europe, despite the barrier of the Pyrenees.

Imagination staggers at the thought of what might have been if the Muhammadan house had held firm, less divided against itself; if Leo the Isaurian had not checked Muhammadan ingress at the Bosphorus and Charles Martel in Gaul; if, later, Okba ibn Hajjaj, returning to the charge, much better equipped than Abd'ar-Rahman bin Abd'Allah, had not received orders to quell an insurrection in Africa; if, still later, Sobieski had not hastened to the rescue of Emperor Leopold I. and his allies. How different our conceptions of life would have become; how different and, probably, how less artificial our ideas of the aims of life! The failure of Muhammadanism meant a set-back in art and science; the industrial and intellectual status of Spain suffered worse from its final ejection than France from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. And the intolerance of Christian Spain affected the whole of Europe. The question whether the industrial art of Moslem Spain, in its specific forms, was characteristically Moorish or Arabic, does not concern us here; neither is it to the point whether or not the Moors had a share in the destruction of the Medinat az-Zahra and such jewels of Arab architecture, the description of whose wonders by Makari sounds like a fairy tale. Christian vandalism stands disclosed beyond doubt in the stones of the Convento de San Jeronimo, now an asylum for the insane, quarried from its ruins; in the bungling patchwork which spoiled the noble interior of the Mesdjid al-Djami at Cordova for the glorification of the Virgen de la Asuncion, by the squeezing in of a quasi-renaissance choir, a *crucero*, insipid *capillas* and the rest. Blind rage, however, demolished infinitely more than it marred in heinous adaptation, by the same token which afterwards prevented the recognition of the artistic sense of the Osmanlee who had occupied the Byzantine Empire in woeful decay and made a thriving, architecturally well-appointed Stam-boul of a degenerate Constantinople. But whatever betrayed Muhammadan associations, was unclean, condemned by mistaken religious zeal, worse taboo even than sci-

tific investigation on a logical basis in pontifical Rome until about a century ago, unholy studies, respecting which a professor of the Sapienza told Simond: *On les tolère comme les mauvais lieux, qui ont pourtant la préférence.*

The irony of fate appointed that, none the less, Muhammadan art should permeate and leaven the Christian world. When the reaction came, it had already acquired a strong hold. After earlier eastern influences which originated in Phœnician commerce, the conquests of Alexander the Great and the Romans, the trade with India by way of Egypt and Arabia, etc., the Islamitic wave caused near and intimate contact in Spain, Sicily and the South of Italy. Generally speaking, the whole basin of the Mediterranean served as an intermediary; Saracenic men-of-war convoyed Saracenic merchant vessels; Amalfi thrrove on the new state of things; Venice started on her phenomenal course by supplying the Moslem slave-markets and distributing to her western customers the eastern wares she got in return. Not that the Moslems were the only purchasers of and the Venetians the only European dealers in slaves, but the Moslems could afford higher prices for that commodity than the Christians, and the Venetian instinct, wondrously keen in smelling a good thing when Greek singers and dancers, or Slavonian eunuchs came up for sale, rose superior to French and Levantine competition. Commercial ties were stronger and more enduring than the relations born from armed contest and interchange of civilities or the reverse between courts. If Baghdad sent embassies to Pepin, Charlemagne returned the compliment, on the best of terms with Haroon ar-Rashid while in constant friction with the Caliphate of Cordova, his reception of Muhammadan malcontents at Paderborn and Aix-la-Chapelle fanning the trouble on the frontier and leading to encroachments which culminated in the annexation of the territory thenceforth known as the Spanish March. His grandson, Charles the Bald, sought the friendship of Muhammad I., *pour le bon*

motif, and gained the Emir's permission for the translation of the remains of St. Vincentius of Zaragoza. The indulgent tolerance of Hakim II. rendered a similar service to France with regard to St. Pelagius of Tuy. But the Christians did not respond, though allowed, under Moslem rule, to attend to their devotions according to their own ceremonial in their own churches, as they enjoyed the privilege of appeal to their own laws, unified in the Code of Chindashuinth and administered by their own judges ; also in the matter of taxation and civic freedom in a much better condition than formerly under their Gothic kings. While Abd'ar-Rahman III. acted the part of peacemaker, setting the Christian house of Leon, Asturia, Navarre and the Campi Gothici in order, the squabbles among whose princes found new fuel in the ambition of Fernando Gonzalez, Count of Castile, would-be martyrs for the faith in the manner of Eulogius, created no end of annoyance and disturbance, the humility of spirit, preached by the primitive fathers, entirely forgotten. Yet western superstition took readily to the use of eastern amulets, talismans inscribed with verses from the Qorān for Christian edification ; of Saracenic and Turkish fabrics cut into garments for officiating at Mass, the crucified Christ, surrounded by canonised prelates, sewn upon chasubles and other ecclesiastical vestments of unmistakable Paynim pattern. Such contradictory ornament tells plainly how Muhammadan art insinuated itself, its inherent excellence foiling the hue and cry raised against all things Muhammadan because emanations of the Evil One. Even relics of saints were kept in wrappers of infidel manufacture, witness the Sassanian cloth from St. Cunibert at Cologne, displayed at Munich : *In hoc Pallio Ossa Sancti Cuniberti involuta jacebant usque A.D. MDCCCXCVIII.* Willy nilly, the Dark Ages had to accept Moslem light, Moslem industrial progress with Moslem advancement in learning, the "miscreants vilde" civilising Europe by means so subtle that only the perfected methods of modern research could trace to them

many discoveries and inventions and improvements calmly put to the credit of western brain-power and skill. Once more: commerce rather than the princely intercourse of Charlemagne and his successors in France, Burgundy, the Kingdom of Arles, etc., notably of Otho the Great in Germany; of Theophilus, Leo the Philosopher and Constantine Porphyrogenetus in Byzantium, not to mention other Roman and Greek Emperors, nay, occupants of the Holy See, with Caliphs, Soldans and Grand Moghuls, tended to the evolution of western ideas on eastern lines. Venetian trade, the Queen of the Adriatic holding "the gorgeous East in fee," gave considerable momentum to this blending of occidental and oriental notions, in a narrower sense: this grafting of eastern motives on western industrial art, as sufficiently elucidated in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, Christianity artistically vivified by the touch of al-Islām. Down to the knick-knacks, exposed under the arcades of the Procuratie Vecchie to catch the tourists' small change, all variations of Venetian *smaltatura* have been developed from oriental models, both with regard to form and to technique, the practical details of Syrian importation. What the Munich Exhibition showed for enamelling, it showed also for niello and metal-foundering. There were beautiful bronze utensils, profusely ornamented, inlaid with silver and gold, of Venetian workmanship, strongly impressed by Arabic design and peculiarities of execution. There were Persian silks with the lion of St. Mark, splendid pendants of Siculo-Arabian woven goods, with phantastically idealised flowers and animals, especially the peacock of frequent occurrence, a feature the worthier of note because in Moslem decoration elsewhere this bird is rarely met with, though no *rara avis* in Moslem literature, cf. for one the story of the magic horse. Sicilian fabrics present a second characteristic in their charming play of mellow tints on a ground of luxurious basic colour. The Sicilian weavers wrought marvels and when the Hohenstaufen bridged the distance between the European

continent and the island, so far virtually a dependency of Africa, even under the Normans who had assimilated themselves with Moslem culture, a rich mine of practical knowledge was opened up. How intensely the Muhammadan currents, which entered by way of Venice and the Saracenic settlements in the South, affected the industrial art of Central Italy, can be concluded from the old faience objects of Sienese and Orvietan make, exhibited by M. Brauer of Paris. Travelling north, they caused everywhere on their path a reflorescence of native industries. Russia, Poland, the Scandinavian lands, came under the spell: Russian embroidery evidences in many of its varieties a decidedly oriental origin; Norse toys are fashioned after the playthings cherished by children in Muhammadan countries; the tracery of Swedish baptismal fonts reminds of Moslem ornament; webs from the looms of peasant women in Schonen, Blekinge, Bohuslän and Jämtland, in Rödlakam-, Krabbasnär- and so-called Doppelgewebe, lent by the National Museum of Stockholm, reveal eastern influences. The able introduction to the official catalogue of the Munich Exhibition explains them by the relation which existed, since olden times, between Scandinavia and the Levant. The Vikings inaugurated northern trade with southern ports; the Normans, masters of the main, passed the Pillars of Hercules and made themselves at home in the Mediterranean; Swedish adventurers by land, descending along the Volga, reached the Caspian Sea and penetrated into Asia. Runic stones to commemorate their voyages and runic inscriptions have been found in Greece and on the shores of the Euxine. Byzantine emperors had Norse warriors in their pay; Norse and Arabian merchants met in Bulgar, in Itil, the capital of the Khazars near Astrakhan. Numerous coins of Persian and Mesopotamian mintage, besides oriental trinkets of silver and bronze, have been unearthed in Sweden, especially in the island Gotland, whose inhabitants kept a trading-post at Novgorod. If then, to borrow the words of Renan, the

Moslem world transcended the Christian world in intellectual culture, Moslem æsthetics made the conquest of Christianity beyond the potentiality of Moslem arms ; art with the Muhammadans, like everything else, considering the religious aspect of the Islamitic movement, was not only a profession but a more or less unconscious apostolate.

Taking from the East, Muhammadan art gave to the West. In India it learned a good deal while teaching little, Moslem conservative energy almost limited to the adaptation of new materials to old architectural forms. A good illustration in point of its increasing passivity the farther it pursued its oriental course, is the absence of Islamitic impulse in the artistic gestation of the Dutch East Indies, as remarked by Rouffaer : hardly any vestige of it even in Menangkabau, Palembang, Atjeh or South Celebes. It enriches itself, however, with the treasures of imagery and mechanical expertness discovered on its eastern confines in a different direction. The dragon of Fo, the phœnix Phong Hoang, the peach-tree of longevity, the intertwining leaves of the water-lily, says Gayet, begin to replace the arabesque pure and simple in the manufactures of Persia, while, on the other hand, Arabic characters begin to appear on Chinese porcelain. Hulagu settles Chinese artisans in Khorasan and Irak, anticipating the Chinese colonies of Shah Abbas the Great; Chinese conceptions modulate Persian art from ceramics to miniature painting, a subject on which Dr. Martin's forthcoming book presumably will furnish significant data. The Tresor of the Church of St. Mary in Dantzic possesses a cloth, dedicated to a Mamlook Sultan and suggestive of Chinese workmanship in Egypt. At Munich very interesting mementos were collected of the short but brilliant revival of West-Asiatic culture under the Mongolian rulers. Toghrul Beg, after delivering his heavy blow to the eastern Caliphate, founded an empire which recalled in learning, science and art, the palmy days of Mamoon. If Nizam ul-Mulk, the Persian wazir of his son and grandson, Alp Arslan and

Malik Shah, gave Baghdad a university, the *nizamijé*, alma mater of a goodly number of famous men, neither were the Seldjuks in Asia Minor such wanton depredators as their defeated adversaries would have it, witness Konja, where Ala ed-Din earned the reputation of a master-builder. The advent of the Turks, their congeners of the race of Othman, did not check the Asiatic impulse towards scientific and artistic production. The Osmanlee, delighting in pageantry and military finery, improved the leisure his martial occupations left him, by rendering diligent service as a broker between Byzantine and Persian ideals of the apposite in art. His influence in that capacity on the Italian mind has been very real, Venice again lending her aid for barter with western Europe. The arsenal of the whilom Republic, guarded by the four lions from the Piraeus (and one of them with a runic inscription), has in its Turkish trophies an eloquent tale to tell of how all this came about. Reminiscences of later Turkish wars, of Osmanlee magnificence ushered in by Yanissary prowess, abound in the museums of Hungary, Austria and Bavaria. Al-Islām asserted itself forcibly from that quarter, while the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and consequent acquisition of territory in the Indies operated on European arts and crafts along lines of eastern workmanship adopted by Portugal and still stimulating to fruitful imitation in Great Britain and the Netherlands.

The insinuative power of Muhammadan art is seen to best advantage where Muhammadan arms, directed westward, drove nearest home. In metal work, as in architecture, says Riaño, numerous examples exist in Spain of Christian and Moslem styles blending, e.g. the bronze doors of the Puerta de los Leones of the cathedral of Toledo, the Puertas del Perdon of the cathedrals of Sevilla and Cordova. In Egypt, the monophysite Copt had yielded to Byzantine propensities, his dogmatic rigidity giving way to a certain sprightliness of representation, observable, for instance, in Charlemagne's celebrated hunting-horn of ivory

with golden bands, precious stones and spirited Coptic carving, a treasure of the Münster-Schatz at Aix-la-Chapelle. The same feature pertains to a Coptic garment, exhibited at Munich by Baron Oppenheim of Cairo, a shirt with figures of men and animals, whose lively attitude marks a distinct departure from the conceits of rudimentary Coptic art which reduced ornament to the subordinate position of symmetrical scrolls. The transition, with respect to the portraying of animate creation, is quickened by the propagation of Shi-ism under the Fatimides. Proceeding from Irak, audacious dissent had readily got hold of Persia, that "nurse of pompous pride," scorning the command of the Prophet to shun images as well as wine, lots and divining arrows. He himself idolised as "the ornament of the good and comely," his denunciation of limners of living creatures shared the disregard shown for his traditional dictum, quoted by Ibn Abbas, that artists must be classed with parricides. Had geometrical combinations and the ornate Arabic script been taken up by the orthodox, who worked wonders in their limited sphere of artistic vision, conveying their passionate veneration of the beauteous in soulless lines and planes, now old beliefs, of which especially the Persians could not divest themselves, smuggled into Islām an element strange to its tenets, but productive of striking effects. *Mens mutatione recreabitur:* the image of that which God formed and stirred with the breath of life, at first gingerly approached, became soon an indispensable factor in more ambitious achievements of art. Carpets, of such general use in eastern countries, begin to represent gardens and hunting-scenes with birds and the beasts of the field; ewers and other household utensils take the shape of tigers, elephants, gazelles; pottery is painted with animals in greatest variety. Moslem warriors do not scruple to embellish their armour with the unclean in effigy, as the dogs chasing stags round Shah Tahmasp's finely embossed helmet. Once admitted, the figuration of animal life is revelled in for its own sake. Bronzes intended

solely to divert the eye, give the artistic sense an excuse for trespassing on religious dogma ; sinning the whole sin, Moslem artists set to moulding the horsemen fit to mount the chargers, conceived in Indian style, and the hunters bold, eager to slay the lions jumping at them from the carved doors of Angora. In book illustration too, the forbidden clamours for recognition : the Persian miniaturist who knows so well how to depict the falcon, expanding his scope in justified reliance on his capacity, cannot be expected always to stop short of the falconer. The human form asserts itself in Muhammadan art, notwithstanding horror-stricken pietists. In how far they had the practice of the law on their side in their objections is a matter of conjecture, considering the vagueness of the Prophet's interdict and the fact that in the adolescent enthusiasm of al-Islām, under the Caliph Abd'al-Malik, the mosque of Jerusalem was adorned with a fresco, picturing Paradise and the place of grievous torment, a forerunner of the frescoes in the castle of Quseir Amra discovered by Dr. Musil. Coins were struck at Damascus with the effigy of Ommayyad Caliphs girded with the sword of faith ; Khumaruyeh, son of Ahmad bin Tulun, erected in his palace at Caïro painted statues of himself, his favourite wives and court singers, with crowns on their heads and turbans glittering with precious stones ; one of the Fatimides dedicated a pavilion to the memory of poets, over whose portraits passages from their works were written in letters of gold. Spain heeded the restraining decree least of all, perhaps owing to her intimate relations with the Christians, many of whom were employed in the construction of her buildings, not only to fill the ranks of unskilled labour, as the Franks, prisoners of war, taken at Narbonne and Gerona, and employed to transport the materials for the Mezquita in the Moslem capital ; but to plan and supervise, as the Greek architects, attracted by the substantial rewards there offered to merit of whatever description. This movement was fostered by the commercial treaties existing between

Cordova and Constantinople, and the general policy of the Byzantine Emperors who saw their advantage in remaining on good terms with the western, for the identical reason which induced Charlemagne and his successors to coquet with the eastern Caliphate. Several innovations were the outcome, a perceptible swaying of Muhammadan conventional rules, comparable to the later modifications of Spanish art by Italian and French, Flemish and Dutch artists, among whom that clever wood-carver Diego Copin Holanda. The group of animals round the fountain in the palace which Abd'ar-Rahman III. had reserved for his diversion *en petit comité* when building the Medinat az-Zahra, was famous for its exquisite workmanship, especially the golden swan in the middle, over which hung suspended the "lustre of the waters," a pearl of enormous size, presented by Emperor Leo. Before the principal entrance, the lady whose rare beauty had prompted her royal lover to the foundation of this city of recreation, stood sculptured on a lofty column. Statues at the gates of towns were not uncommon; Dozy speaks of one in Toledo, and the lions in what is now the Capilla de Nuestra Señora de Villaviciosa of the cathedral of Cordova, might also pass, but representations of events chronicled in the Book, the fortunes of the Seven Sleepers and of Noah's raven, on the red pillars of the Mezquita al-Djami, must have caused some scandal. Ibn Khaldoun relates that the Moslems of Andalusia adopted the Christian custom of breaking the monotony of large wall spaces in their houses with pictures. Samples of Muhammadan mural painting under the Nasride dynasty of Granada have been preserved in al-Hambra. In work of more recent date and more eastern origin, displayed at Munich, the human form is, almost without exception, correctly drawn, and the lineament of the faces full of expression. Indian miniatures of the eighteenth century show a remarkable aptitude for portraiture; Persian scenes of gallantry a freedom of design opposed to all convention: merry virgins disporting themselves in the parks

of Isfahan compare favourably for the delineation of features and complete justness of limb, with the contours of Leopold's Grande Sultane, or of gay Venetian damsels in Turkish costume after Pietro Longhi. Neither does oriental pictorial art lack humour, witness the monkey tricking a lion, the escape of a spoony couple from a *fâcheux troisième*, or the Peri's offering good things to a strapping young saint, while neglecting, even turning their backs on the decrepit old hermit, his companion across the river.

The mock-Caliph Mustansir summoned the painter Ibn Aziz from Irak to Cairo, hoping that competition might moderate the extortionate demands of Kaszir, who knew his worth as the chief of his profession in Egypt, where the art had already been cultivated in Ptolemaic times. The settlement of painters from Fars and Azerbayan in India was encouraged by Akbar the Great, and contributed to the rise of the Moghul school of painting, which reached its apogee under Shah Jahan. Many Turkish miniatures clearly betray their dependence on Persian originals. In fact, the Dar al-Islâm served as a clearing-house for artistic ideas and devices throughout the eastern world, while European craftsmen, desirous of oriental inspiration at the source itself, gradually extended the limits of exchange, Venetians, of course, in the vanguard. Gentile Bellini's mission to Constantinople, at the request of Sultan Mahomed II., is well known; best known, perhaps, on account of the anecdote which illustrates the Grand Turk's earnestness in advocating realism in art by his ordering the instant decapitation of a slave standing by, to confirm his theory anent the contraction of the neck after the head has been severed from the body. Whether libellous or not, the gruesome story voiced the secret conviction that truth and perfection in Christian art might derive some benefit from Moslem suggestions. If a portrait of a Turkish prince, painted by Gentile Bellini when at Constantinople, was copied by Behzad, one of whose brothers of the brush copied Jehan Clouet; if

Indian miniaturists reproduced the religious scenes on Christian canvases they chanced upon, the child Jesus in his cradle, etc., we find, on the other hand, the mighty genius of Rembrandt susceptible to the blandishments of Moghul art. It needs only a superficial acquaintance with the great master's work to perceive how fond his love for oriental splendour, how deep his consciousness of the inward beauty of oriental artistic creations. Dr. Sarre, who exhibited at Munich a leaf from an album with sketches by Rembrandt after Indian miniatures, has demonstrated in what manner and to what extent that zealous collector of eastern rugs and cloths and weapons became indebted to eastern models, his enthusiasm even leading to compositions on a basis of eastern design. It is almost a commonplace that oriental carpets and textiles, chiefly of Muhammadan manufacture, exercised a considerable influence on the Italian colourists, whose achievements, excepting Allegri of Correggio and Mazzola of Parma, centre most suggestively round Venice: Carpaccio, the Bellini's, the Bassano's, Bordone, Barbarelli, the Robusti's, the Palma's, Catena, Pordenone, the Bonifazio's, Lotto, Caliari, Tizian. For proof of eastern inspiration of a different kind, elsewhere, and at a later date, the names occur of Horace Vernet, Eugène Delacroix, Decamps, Marilhat, Henri Regnault and Fromentin. Recalling Dürer in the extraordinary results they obtain with slight means, their tracing sober yet amply sufficient, their control of line nothing short of marvellous, it is, however, principally by their delicate handling, their mastery of colour that eastern painters charm and captivate. Neither the Venetian colourists before and contemporary with the *rinascimento*, nor the recent French *orientaux*, who strove after intense effects of light, have succeeded in equalling the soft, mysterious atmosphere of Persian landscape and genre. Rembrandt, the wizard of *chiaroscuro*, came nearest of all in his mystical mood. Persian portraits too, gleam in that mellow efflorescence of tints, a fusion

of brilliancy and dreamy contemplation. Accurate drawing goes hand in hand with intense feeling, passionate surrender to colour sensations, an example worthy of imitation by our impressionists! Whoever the artist, classic Behzad or decadent Riza Abbasi, not a move of pencil or brush too many, not a shade too long, not a reflected light too conspicuous; everything in its proper place, reduced to its proper value, subordinate to the whole. An open eye for right proportions and nimble fingers to interpret the impressions received, complete the eastern artist's stock-in-trade as a gift essentially oriental and widely inherent throughout the East. To give a single illustration in point: the higher-class natives of Java want only a little training to excel as draughtsmen, conscientiously exact in their work; the island produced a painter, Raden Saleh Sarif Bastaman, born at Samarang, 1814, whose scenes of animal life in the jungle are rare manifestations of that remarkable faculty.

The difficult problem of preserving the spirituality of a graceful organic outline while adding intricate decoration, has often been so happily solved by the artistic sense of the East that in this respect, as in many others, the West could not do better than follow its teachings. How this came to pass, specifically in the case of Muhammadan art, the exhibition at Munich disclosed plainly while conveying new lessons for the future. There remains much to learn. The belief that the ideas and methods engendered by the Muhammadan conquests have vanished with the Muhammadan domination is exploded. They go on fructifying Europe from the seeds sown along the shores of the Mediterranean. Not only Morocco, which keeps the heritage of Saracenic art; Algeria and Tunis, where Turkish art became ascendent; Egypt, the Osman Empire and the Levant, where the West merges in the East; but Spain, Italy with Sicily, the French Midi, the Dalmatian coast, inoculated with germs of Muhammadan thought, continue Muhammadan traditions. The Muham-

madan past still works for us. Like Jack Robinson in the nursery tale, Muhammadan art in Munich cried out to us : I am not dead at all. Precise without condescending to petty artifice or paltry tricks, the Moslem artist, directed by his impassioned imagination, has created masterpieces far transcending the geometrical frenzies of the legend woven round his endeavours. Discarding a narrow doctrine which put the artistic possibilities of the human form out of his reach, he appropriated all aspects of nature, aided by a strong grasp of artistic balance, an amazing wealth of intellectual resource and an unequalled economy of mechanical appliance, a cool head and beating heart. Modern progress can find in ancient Muhammadan art a powerful incentive, a solvent for the ostentatious mediocrity which wearies and offends the eye with gaudy but meaningless sculpture and painting, useless *bric-à-brac*, productive of new abominations by embarrassing and confusing the conceptional capacity of the rising generation. What wild extravagancies are inflicted upon us to satisfy an unwholesome craving for the whimsical and capricious, the sensational ! And the *vox populi* hastening to approve ; feigning a taste which, really possessed, would disqualify ; simulating until the fiction loses its short authority and the applauded "unique" of yesterday becomes the hopelessly trite of to-morrow ! This instability of standard, or rather : this incompetent cowardice of criticism, which countenances the most desperate bungling, asks for a thorough revision, a readjustment of our artistic ideals, unless we wish to go on floundering in the slough of æsthetic despond. The East strongly affected the progressive spirit of the *cinquecento*, why should it not render equally good service to our aspirations of the present day ? Muhammadan art is already familiar to us ; indeed, we have arrogated so much of it in our artistic performances that their origin got lost sight of. Munich, reminding us of this fact, showed, moreover, that the source is by no means exhausted. Chinese and Japanese art may also

broaden our views if we allow our vision a wider range than western conventions, grounded exclusively in different phases of the accepted classical which itself is of eastern development. While each racial temperament tends to separate and distinct fruition, the beneficial processes of amalgamation, born from the Muhammadan conquests, urge the breaking down of racial barriers in the realms of thought to gender moral regeneration. A great religious upheaval struck light out of the clash of arms; the tide setting back in channels of peace, the West should not be ashamed to approach the East for further improvement: *ex oriente lux.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, November 8, 1910, a paper was read by Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D. (Barrister-at-law), on "The Moslem Constitutional Theory and Reforms in Turkey, Persia, and India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Lady Lamington, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel K.C.S.I., Sir Horatio H. Sheppard, Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., The Maharajah of Mourbhanj, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig (Member of the Secretary of State's Council), Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. W. Irvine, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, the Hon. Mr. Jiwani, Surgeon-General Evatt, Mr. S. C. Latif, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. D. M. Siraj-ud-Din, Mr. K. C. Tyabjee, Mr. A. Sefi, Mr. J. H. Brewer, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Charles H. Rosher, Miss Halkett, Mr. S. Mohindin, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. M. Cheshire, Mr. M. K. Ferheng, Mr. M. Ishmail, Mr. M. A. Khan, Mr. A. Raffi, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Miss S. Chapman-Hands, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. S. Abdul Razas, Mr. Francis Marchant, Mr. Charles Nissim, Miss Morris, Mr. R. J. Wicksteed, Mr. Y. D. Gokhale, Mr. D. Wiltshire, Mr. R. N. Aiyangar, Mrs. Jardine, Mr. Abdulla Mia Khandwani, the Rev. J. R. Brown, Pramathanath Banerjea, Miss Gibson, Mr. Asghar Ali Khan, Mr. J. Walsh, Mr. M. D. Malak, Mr. M. A. Hag, Mr. A. Khan, Mr. Shah Mohammad, Mr. E. B. Harris, Mr. S. M. Arif, Mr. S. J. H. Warisi, Mr. R. H. Cook, Mr. R. Knightbruc, Mr. A. Abbott, Mr. A. J. P. Carmichael, Mr. Sydney G. Eridge, Mr. Khaja Ishmail, Mr. C. K. Vyasa Rao, Mr. W. O. Clark, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. R. Vicaji, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, spoke of the broad aims of the Association, and pointed out the great interest it took in the affairs of the East generally and of India in particular. He alluded to the great and encouraging success which attended its efforts on behalf of the people of India generally, and drew attention to the fact that forty-three new members had been elected since the opening of the year in May. This, his lordship said, reflected great credit on Dr. Pollen, the Hon. Secretary.

His lordship, speaking of the lecturer, said that Dr. Majid had lived some years in this country, that he was an author of literary and legal works and a practising barrister, and had recently been appointed a lecturer on law to the Colonial Office. He then called upon the Syed to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will desire me to express our thanks to the Syed for his paper. I dare say there are many of you who, like myself, have received a considerable amount of enlightenment as to the manner of the appointment of the Caliph. Certainly, it seems to present considerable complication, as it is not a matter of agreement amongst Mohammedans as to who is entitled to hold the office. Then there are divergent views as to the method of selection of those who are qualified to fill the position. The complications seem to be so many that I think we ought to congratulate ourselves in this country on still retaining the hereditary principle. On the other hand, when once the Caliph is appointed there is undeviating obedience to whoever is the holder of the office. The lecturer then went on to draw attention to our Constitutional principles and those which prevail among Mohammedans, and he said they apparently both rested on a democratic basis. Although the basis may be the same, he will agree with me, I am sure, that, whilst both the Caliph and our own monarch represent a limited form of sovereignty, still, there is a great distinction between them. The Caliph is himself personally responsible, and can accordingly be deposed, as the ex-Sultan of Turkey was, if he governs improperly ; whereas our monarch has no responsibility, but the responsibility attaches to his Ministers. That is a very vital difference. I cannot help referring incidentally to a passage on p. 12, which is a very interesting passage : "The supreme power is undoubtedly the Legislature thus brought into being. It can make, or unmake, laws, but must aim at the public weal. Powerful as it is, it is not absolute. The very nature of contract implies it. No one can give away what does not belong to him." I am sorry Mr. Lloyd George and the other members of the Government are not here to hear that, and then they might reconsider the policy of the present Government. (Laughter.) Then the Syed seems to think that we have learned something from the Moslems. I am not sufficiently a historian to be able to say whether that is the case or not. Perhaps others who are present may be able to say whether it is at all possible that our Constitution might have been a little affected by what has prevailed in the East. Then he referred to another important point—namely, the fact that the Nationalist movements which have taken place in Turkey and Persia rest on a very sound basis, and are in perfect harmony with all the Mohammedan principles. That being so, I think there is a possibility of the new Turkish Constitution being really permanently established, and also the same may be said of the Nationalist movement in Persia. That, of course, is in a weaker condition than that which obtains in Turkey, but it is very satisfactory to learn, on the evidence of the Syed, that there is nothing contrary in that movement to the religious principles or faith of the Mohammedans, and I hope, therefore, that these two movements that

have been brought about will grow and develop, and will become so strong as to be able to give good government to those two countries. The other main point to which the Syed drew attention was with reference to the Mohammedan representation in the Legislative Council of India. I am not quite able to follow all his figures, but as far as I understand it, he says that there is no disproportionate representation of Mohammedans; but be that so or not, we have heard so little lately about the variance of opinion on this point that we may hope that both Hindus and Mohammedans are quite content with the settlement that has been arrived at. I do not think that I can usefully add anything further to the remarks that I have made. I can only again express our obligations to the Syed for having so carefully drawn up his paper. I think it is one quite out of the common compared to what we usually have here, and it is extremely interesting. This is an Association whose main object is to ventilate questions from every point of view, and I thank the Syed, on my own behalf and that of the Association, for his goodness in having read the paper. (Loud applause.)

MR. SEFEI said that, although he was of Arabian descent, his education had been British, and he knew how to appreciate British administration. He looked upon the civilization of the Arabians as being perfect, provided it could be carried through. The country did not want civilization, but security and justice. It was very difficult at present to carry out laws and measures which were necessary for the good government of the country for the reason that it was impossible for anybody to frame laws in accordance with perfect equity and justice. Parliaments were only places to compromise matters, to bring in the law of the majority; they were not for the purpose of making really the best laws, because the best laws could only be made by the master-minds of jurists, divines, and so forth. The reforms in Persia and Turkey were in the right direction, but they did not at the present moment exactly carry out constitutional principles, because they lacked the financial and educational advantages which were necessary to success. He hoped that in time those countries would be governed as well as England was by the British Parliament. In Turkey education had been a secondary and not a first consideration, as it was with the Arabs. He hoped that the Arabic language would have a first, and not a second, place in Turkey, because that was the power by which to educate the people.

MR. R. VIKAJI said he supposed if a meeting of the character of the present one had been held, say, fifty years after the birth of Christ, that anybody who had been so bold as to prophesy that a new religion was going to take possession of the world would have been howled down or laughed at. Nevertheless, from his own experience, he was able to say that there was a new religion which was going, not to replace Christianity, and Mohammedism, and the other religions, but to combine them all. He referred to the Bahais, who had not been mentioned by the lecturer. He did not suppose there was anyone in the room who had heard of the Bahais, but at the present moment about one quarter of the population of Persia were Bahais. What was a Bahai? A Bahai was a disciple of Baha'o'llah, who had been prophesied by the Bab, by the Mohammedan scriptural writings,

and also by Daniel. If anybody would take the trouble to go through this evidence he was sure he would come to the conclusion that there was more in it than they thought. It had been said by some that Baha'o'llah was the second Christ. This came as a shock to Christians, and also to Mohammedans, and yet, if the subject were inquired into in an unbiassed manner, it would be found that to any fair-minded and right-thinking man there was a great deal in it. He might mention that there were a million Americans, men and women, who were Bahais, and it could not be said that they were a million idiots. They were building a Bahai Temple in Chicago, and they were in great earnest about it. As regards the various religions, there was no reason for division. They all believed there was only one God, and that being so, having so many different religions was a mistake. Baha'o'llah said there was only one God, and only one religion, and the law of the Bahai religion was similar to that of the Christian religion.

With regard to the representation of the Council, he thought that if the various sections of the community were brought together by such a religion as that taught by Baha'o'llah, there would be no difficulty in getting any representation they wanted from such a fair Government as the British Government.

MR. C. K. VYASA RAO said that, although he was in complete accord with the lecturer in acknowledging with gratitude the reform scheme initiated by Lord Morley, he could not agree with the lecturer's view as to electoral representation in India. If there was one country where the various classes of people were divided from one another by racial differences, by religious differences, and by colour scruples, that country, unhappily, was his own. To divide citizens into sections with a political knife according to their religion would be to forgo the advantage of a common political bond in a country so full of differences and distinctions as India. Everywhere representation proceeded upon the principle that a man was a land-owner, or a merchant, or a householder, paying his tax as such to the State. It never proceeded in any country, under any Government, on the ground of the religion professed by a citizen, and it would be to surrender a profound principle that would be for their eternal good to treat India as an exception to the rule, where everyone was equally a British citizen irrespective of his religion, race, or caste. The speaker said that were he a Muslim he would decline the benefit of such a method of representation. Turning to the question of Turkey and Persia, he wondered why the lecturer should have included the reforms in India with the revolution in Turkey and Persia. The lecturer had said that the Turkish revolution was comparable to the revolution in England in 1668, but the 1668 revolution in England was a revolution with the force of Parliamentary institutions behind it for centuries past, whereas in Turkey there had been no Parliament prior to the revolution. Again, it was one thing to accomplish a revolution and another thing to sustain the revolution when it was accomplished. When they found the Turks appealing to the German Kaiser, and saying he was their great protector next to the Caliph, the speaker very much doubted the stability of the revolution that had been accomplished. Then, turning to Persia; Persia was in a worse position than Turkey, since the parallel

between the two ended with the fact that there was a deposed Shah as there was a deposed Sultan. Persia and Turkey conveyed a lesson to them that mere discontent ought not to lead to a revolution in the State. There was discontent everywhere; in the Republic of France, in the dominions of the Kaiser to whom the Young Turks appealed as their great friend and patron, and there was also discontent within the dominions of the Constitutional Monarchy of England. A sharp contrast existed between revolutions which had been accomplished in Persia and Turkey, and the reforms which had been effected in India, and he only wished that those reforms had been accomplished without recognizing a religious basis of political representation. What they wanted was to be British citizens, irrespective of religion, race, caste, or creed.

MR. R. A. LESLIE MOORE, in criticizing what had fallen from the last speaker, thought that there was an obvious reason for giving separate representation to the Mohammedans in India. Not only by religion, but by history and race, they were separate from the Hindus, and in the present state of politics in India if they did not have separate representation they would be swamped. He knew from his own experience that if a Mohammedan and a Hindu candidate were to go up for election in a mainly Hindu municipal electorate the Hindu would get in, and *vice versa*. He did not think anybody with a knowledge of the subject could say otherwise, and he thought that was the reason why Lord Morley ruled that the Mohammedans must have separate representation. The last speaker had said that Hindus were divided among themselves, but they were not so divided as Hindus and Mohammedans. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Vikaji as to the Bahai movement, he had brought forward as a strong argument the fact that a million Americans supported the movement; but he would like to ask him how many Americans supported Christian Scientists and Mormons? With regard to the paper it was most interesting, but he thought the lecturer went a little too far when he gave them to understand that the British political system was taken from Mussulman sources. He would find from history that in Saxon times there was in England what was called the Witenagemot, a more likely prototype of our present Parliament. He would like to ask the lecturer two questions. In the first place he had said that the Caliph was elected by the Mussulman people; but he pointed out in his paper that the electors might be five, three, or one. He should like to know who elected those electors. Then, in pointing out the numbers representing the different communities on the Indian Supreme Council, the lecturer had said that the Hindus had seventeen representatives. He wanted to know whether those seventeen so-called Hindu representatives were representatives of the mixed elective bodies—that is to say, whether they represented not only Hindus, but also a certain number of Mussulmans. If so, he ventured the humble criticism that just as eight members were specially assigned to represent Mussulmans only, so seventeen members should be assigned to represent Hindus only. The fact that Mussulmans had a double vote was a grievance to the Hindus and probably of little advantage to the Mussulmans, as the Hindus greatly outnumbered them in the mixed electorates.

The LECTURER, in reply to the criticisms on his paper, said that one speaker had said that there was no justice or order either in Turkey or Persia at the present time ; but, without admitting the truth of the assertion, the same sort of thing had occurred in England. The first Parliamentary form of government came into existence about 1265, but, properly speaking, the Parliament, with its rights defined, did not come into existence until 1688. There were civil wars going on from time to time ; and that being the case, did they expect either Turkey or Persia to have such a form of government as we had in England at the present time ? They could not expect to have the same sort of government within ten years. They had been for a long time under an oppressive rule, and they could not put their house in order in less than that time. Such being the case, the complaints that no justice or order prevailed in those countries were neither justifiable nor correct, and did not give any idea of the general state of things. If there were a few injustices it was not to be wondered at. In the future, no doubt, great things would be accomplished in that part of the world. With regard to what Mr. Vikaji had said in reference to Bahaism, he had been present at a meeting at the Society of Arts where that question had been discussed, and it was pointed out that Bahaism had no principle which it could call its own. If he remembered rightly, the movement came into existence in Persia at the instance of a gentleman whose idea was to introduce a constitutional form of government, and who was against the Kachár dynasty ruling over Persia, and desired that both Turkey and Persia should be united under one rule. That was the chief reason why Bahaism came into existence. As a matter of fact, there was no new ethical principle initiated by Bahaism, and all their fine and noble sentiments were borrowed from Islam. That being so, if the people of America, or of England, or of any other part of the world, believed in Bahaism, they believed in Mohammedanism.

Then he was surprised to hear the remarks of Mr. Rao. If they had fallen from the lips of an inexperienced man he would have given him the credit of his inexperience ; but as he was fresh from Madras, and had been in touch with the political movements of India, he was surprised at the remarks which he had made about Lord Morley's scheme. Each section, being in the best position to voice its wants, should be properly represented. Both the Hindus and Mohammedans should be represented on the Council until the time each understood the wants of the other, and was prepared to look at them with a sympathetic eye. That portion of the reform which dealt with the mixed election would show how far each was prepared to act on the line indicated. It was wrong to say that Lord Morley had treated either the Hindu or the Mohammedan community with any unfairness.

Then he had also been asked why Persia, Turkey, and India were taken together. The reason was because the question had been raised that the Mohammedans were of no importance in India, and the object of the paper was to show, on the one hand, that the Mohammedans held the same constitutional ideals as the English people, and as the English people were the guardians of India, would not the Mohammedans, who held the

same view, be a very important factor ; while, on the other, it showed how far a constitutional form of government was in harmony with the fundamental principles of Islam, and what measure of hope could be entertained for the stability of the new régime in Turkey and Persia. In answer to Mr. Moore, he would remind him that the assembly to which he had referred (Witenagemot) did not in any sense represent the country. It was merely a consultative body. It was composed of the King and members of the royal household, and some people who were nominated, like the Bishops. It was not a Parliamentary form of government at all. It was not until 1265 that there was anything in the nature of representation of the people. On the question asked he was referred to the body of the paper, in which they were sufficiently answered.

On the motion of SIR ROBERT FULTON, seconded by SIR JAMES WILSON, a hearty vote of thanks was by acclamation accorded to the Chairman for presiding at the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, December 5, 1910, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore read a paper on "India and Tariff Reform." Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I., Sir Andrew Wingate, C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir Daniel Mackinnon Hamilton, Prince Ripudaman Singh, Mr. K. G. Gupta, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Little, Surgeon-General Evatt, Colonel T. A. H. Davies, Major H. Twynam, D.S.O., Dr. A. D. Pollen, Lady Howard Melliss, Mrs. Leslie Moore, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. Walsh, Mr. K. S. Pantulu, Mr. K. C. Vyasa Rao, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. S. D. Mehta, Mr. C. M. Kenworthy, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. R. D. Batiwala, Mr. G. S. Sundarum, Mrs. R. Dube, Mr. W. Irvine, Mr. F. W. Barber, Mr. R. Sewell, Miss M. C. Ryle, Miss A. M. Malleson, Mr. H. Wilkinson, I.C.S., Mr. Kumar Sisodia, Dr. S. D. Bhabba, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. Curt Prochownick, Mr. G. W. Crosoer, Mr. B. Dube, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Palmer, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Dr. Abdul Majid, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. A. Abbott, Mr. C. Bland, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. H. Judd, Mr. J. W. Bennie, Mr. C. Nissim, Miss Ramsbotham, Mr. C. R. Rao, Mr. A. R. M. Rao, the Rev. W. and Miss Hind, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. D. Alan Purdie, Mr. de Courey Alkins, Mrs. Chatlin, Mr. Turner, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Honorary Secretary.

The HON. SECRETARY read the following letters of regret from Lord Reay, Lord Herschell, and Sir Frederic Lely, at not being able to take the chair:

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

I am returning to Scotland . . . and regret I cannot preside at the meeting, and I hope you will offer my apologies to Mr. Moore and tell him how sorry I am I cannot be in London, and hope he will have a good meeting.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) REAY.

November 24, 1910.

I have asked Lord Burghclere to let you know if he can preside. If he cannot, you might invite Lord Herschell. Excuse a hurried line.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) REAY.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

Lord Burghclere wrote saying that he would not be in London on Monday, and I suppose Herschell is also away. I do not like to write a letter, being absent, in opposition to Mr. Moore's paper. As I have, at a

previous meeting of the East India Association, explained my Free Trade views, I do not think it necessary to reiterate them on this occasion. Pray tell Mr. Moore how much I regret I cannot be present, and that his meeting should happen to coincide with this period of turmoil.

Yours sincerely,

December 3, 1910.

(Signed) REAY.

DEAR MR. POLLEN,

I regret much that I am unable to comply with your request, but I shall be in Ireland on Monday next.

Yours very truly,

December 3, 1910.

(Signed) HERSCHELL.

MY DEAR POLLLEN,

I am very sorry but I am away down here for the milder climate, where I am also mixed up with electioneering a bit, and hence it is quite impossible to make an engagement for the 5th at Caxton Hall. I am really sorry.

Yours sincerely,

November 30, 1910.

(Signed) F. S. LELY.

The CHAIRMAN: I need hardly say I concur most sincerely and heartily with what our Secretary has said with regard to the absence of Lord Reay and the other gentlemen whose names Lord Reay suggested. Of course we all anticipated, with Lord Reay in the chair, that we should have had an admirable summing up of all the arguments, *pro* and *con.*, and that he would have been able to give his views in opposition to Mr. Moore. I understand that on a former occasion, when asked to do this, he did it in a most moderate but forcible form. We all sincerely regret his absence. I will now ask Mr. Moore to read his paper.

The HON. SECRETARY said that the Association had invited Mr. Harold Cox to be present, and he regretted that he was unable to be there. He had also requested Mr. Lees Smith to take part in the discussion, but unfortunately he said he would be engaged in an election contest in his own constituency. In the same way he had also received a letter from Mr. Bonar Law, who had been hoping up to the last moment to be able to attend.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed by Mr. Harold Cox to thank you for your invitation to the meeting of the East India Association, but to say that he regrets that he already has an engagement for December 5.

Yours faithfully,

November 19, 1910.

(Signed) E. A. BAINES, Secretary.

DEAR SIR,

I should like to be present to take part in the discussion on December 5, but unfortunately I shall be engaged in the election contest in my own constituency.

Yours sincerely,

November 21, 1910.

(Signed) H. B. LEES SMITH.

* DEAR SIR,

I have your note in regard to the meeting on December 5. If my engagements at that time make it possible I shall be glad to attend, but it is very doubtful whether I shall be able to do so.

Yours faithfully,

November 18, 1910.

(Signed) A. BONAR LAW.

MR. R. A. LESLIE MOORE read his paper on "India and Tariff Reform."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we have listened to this extremely interesting paper by Mr. Moore, and I think he has marshalled the arguments in favour of his view with very great ability, and, if I may say so, with success. The only contribution that I wish to make to the discussion is this, and it is with reference to one particular passage in which he refers to the advisability of our imposing a tax on coal. I have recently been reading an extremely interesting book, which is likely to make its mark, if it has not done so already; it is called "Economic Heresies," by Sir Nathaniel Nathan. With reference to coal he says: "In taking off the export duty on coal we not only lose an amount of £2,000,000, or whatever it was we had before, but we actually enable our competitors on the Continent to obtain the means by which the power is supplied from which they manufacture the articles that they send over here to undersell ours." I think you will agree with me that that is a very important point indeed, and certainly a very strong one in favour of the duty on coal. I should like, as the only thing I can do with regard to Lord Reay's views, and in his absence, to read two or three short extracts from the address which he made when he took the chair in 1905, on the occasion when Mr. Thorburn, who I am glad to see is here, read a paper on the same subject. Lord Reay in regretting his absence this evening has referred to the fact that he had already expressed his views at the meeting at which he then presided. He declared that "It was his firm conviction that any artificial trammels imposed upon Indian exports or Indian imports could only be detrimental to the trade and industries of India. No Protection was needed for the development of Indian industries. All the Indian industries wanted was the introduction of capital, and the introduction of skilled supervision. They had in India a most important asset for the development of new industries—cheap labour. In addition, Indian industries were less exposed to the vicissitudes of English industries, such as strikes. There was absolute security for capital invested in India, and his own opinion was that nothing would be more dangerous than to introduce Protection, because sooner or later there would be a demand—perhaps at a critical time—to have these duties abolished. If Parliament determined that the duties ought to be removed, no Government could withstand the pressure, and in that case the condition of industries which had been artificially supported would certainly be precarious, and a financial crisis might be the result."

I will not stay to comment on this. I think you have already commented on it yourselves. Lord Reay added: "As to the very able minute"—that is the one Mr. Moore has referred to—"of the Financial Member of

Council, it was, he thought, evidently inspired by a friendly disposition towards the preferential theory, and made the conclusion he was obliged to adopt all the more effective. It was important to notice that the Government of India were more decided than their financial colleague, and very explicitly stated their opinion as to the possibility of adapting the preferential system to India, and he could not conceive that the Government of India had come to that conclusion without great deliberation."

It so happens that I was a member of the Council of the Government of India at the time this despatch was written, but any further details than are mentioned here I am unable to give. "He," that is the Chairman, "would be the first to accept any means which could either improve the industrial situation of India or could cement the bonds which united us to her; but it was his firm conviction that any attempt to create artificial links between our trade and manufactures and the trade and manufactures of India would inevitably have the effect of producing friction rather than of tightening the friendly relations existing between the two countries."

I will not read any further extracts, because I am hoping that we shall have a very interesting discussion on Mr. Moore's very valuable paper. I will ask Dr. Pollen to read some notes that he has already received in favour, before inviting any discussion.

The HON. SECRETARY read the following notes received from Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., and Mr. Fred T. Haggard, on Mr. Moore's paper.

Note on Mr. Moore's Paper received from Sir Roper Lethbridge.

As the senior Member of Council of this Association, I am extremely sorry that ill-health makes it impossible for me to attend the reading of Mr. Leslie Moore's paper on "India and Tariff Reform," and the more so as the meeting will be honoured by the presence of our distinguished President, Lord Reay; for the subject is one which has been the chief study of my life for over forty years—ever since 1868, when I went out to India, almost straight from Oxford, as the Government Professor of Political Economy in the State Colleges of the Calcutta University. I agree with every word of Mr. Leslie Moore's paper, which I regard as perhaps the most practical, lucid, and convincing presentation of the case for a fiscal system of Imperial Preference for India that has yet been put forward. I ask permission to offer one or two remarks upon it of an entirely friendly character. Mr. Leslie Moore well exposes the ignorance of Indian trade conditions shown by my old friend and colleague, Mr. Gibson Bowles, in his Free Trade pronouncement in the House of Commons last July, but he omits to notice Mr. Bowles's gross and unpardonable inaccuracy—one that has been repeated by other Free Trade partisans—to the effect that Mr. Chamberlain had "left India out of account." Why! The Proceedings of this Association show that at the very commencement of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign he addressed a very weighty letter on the subject to Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, dated November 3, 1903, only five or six weeks after his resignation of office, in which he pointed out the important position that India would occupy in a Tariff Reform federation, and the immense benefits she would derive from Imperial Preference, and

he stipulated that India should not be forced to join any such federation unless and until her Government and peoples obtained such favourable terms as would satisfy them of its advantage. I have never ceased to contrast, both here and in India, this honourable stipulation of Mr. Chamberlain with the arrogant and domineering dictum of the Free Traders as voiced by Mr. W. Tattersall, the leader of the Lancashire Cobdenites, in the *Spectator*: "While India is our dependency she will continue to be governed by our traditional policy of Free Trade." One further remark I wish to offer on Mr. Leslie Moore's paper. With that honourable moderation and that conscientious sense of responsibility that are among the many high traditions of the Indian Civil Service, he invariably understates his case when giving figures. For instance, in estimating the value of the Indian imports of foreign protected goods in regard to which British trade would obtain a preference, Mr. Moore has followed the Tariff Commission in adopting the figure suggested by the Free Traders—viz., £10,500,000—but this was only obtained by cutting off every possible debateable item. A more serious error is to be found, I think, in Mr. Moore's estimate of the amounts of the exports of raw jute and lac respectively to foreign countries outside the British Empire, which would be taxed under a Preferential system, and recoup the Indian revenues for the remission of the excise duty on Indian cotton goods and the import duty on Lancashire and Scottish goods. In each case, Mr. Moore very properly deducts from the taxable exports the amount that goes to the United Kingdom; but he forgets that about one-half of that amount, both in the case of raw jute and of lac, is re-exported from British ports to foreign countries, and this would be caught by any scientific scheme of Imperial tariffs. In this way the taxable amount, which he estimates at £9,000,000 for both raw jute and lac, really is about £10,000,000 for raw jute alone, and over a million and a half for lac. The revenue from these export duties alone, without counting in that which would be obtained by taxing the dumped imports of manufactured goods from foreign protected countries, would far more than suffice to enable the Government of India to free all Indian manufactures from excise, and all Lancashire and other British manufacturers from import duties.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

Note on Mr. Moore's paper by Mr. Fred T. Haggard, of Tunbridge Wells.

We have to overcome the pride of Free Traders. They cannot debate; but hold on still to worn-out doctrines. For example, I have a letter from a well-known Cobden Club member, who writes to me saying our opinions are too wide apart to debate: I was quite ready to debate, especially as he wrote to me saying he does not mind how much our exports declined provided our imports increased. It is said that Mrs. Gladstone advised her husband to chew his meat thirty times before swallowing it; if I tried to masticate this theory of exports versus imports, not thirty, but 30,000 times, I could not swallow it. I think the six conclusions at the end of Mr. Moore's paper are consistent. We cannot tell what the effect of Fair Trade may be if adopted, but this we do know—that the United

Kingdom in itself is not self-contained, but that the Empire would be, if properly consolidated. Neither the United Kingdom, nor India, nor our Colonies could separately stem the competition of the larger populations of the outer world working under systems totally opposed to Free Trade. Those populations provide for their own people, and at the same time dump their surplus on our markets, which admit them without any duty. I have not forgotten the speech you (Dr. Pollen) once made here some years ago, showing that India was the place of the cheap loaf, but the natives there were too poor to purchase it. Disraeli said years ago : "I should as soon expect to see a galley slave in irons encounter a prize-fighter as that we should fight hostile tariffs with free imports." I am a Fair Trader of twenty-five years' standing.

In reading Mr. Haggard's note Dr. Pollen explained that his (Dr. Pollen's) allusion to cheap bread in India was made to illustrate the fact that a "cheap loaf" did not necessarily mean a wealthy or well-fed people! There was no country in the world where food-grain was cheaper than in India ; but what was the use of a penny loaf if the poor had not the penny wherewith to buy it ?

MR. C. PROCHOWNICK said he supposed he might take it from Mr. Moore that, in proposing this reciprocal Preference between India and England, he did not propose it as an item to stand by itself, but to form part of the whole policy of Colonial Preference. First of all, he would like to refer to the following two sentences in Mr. Moore's paper : "The right of Canada to grant Preference to Britain is now recognized without demur." The next sentence was this : "Now, if this right is recognized in the case of Canada, why should it not also receive recognition if Britain and India, who belong to the British Empire equally with Canada, choose to grant preference to each other?" He thought there was a great difference between those two propositions. Canada grants a Preference, but we do not grant a Preference to Canada. Here Mr. Moore proposed Preference to each other. He thought that anybody who had studied the question of political economy, particularly with regard to this country, had heard of such a thing as "the most favoured nation clause." It was because this country treated every country alike that we enjoyed in almost every country of the world the most favoured nation treatment. In some countries that had been a considerable advantage to us, some of our goods even entering at a lower tariff. With regard to machinery, boots and shoes, and other articles, they entered at a lower tariff in France than American goods, because America did not treat France as well as we treated France. He would point out that all our Colonies are as independent fiscally as France, or Germany, or any other countries—that is to say, they manage their own fiscal arrangements apart altogether from England. Therefore, if we were to give a Preference to any of those independent fiscal units to-day we would be met at once by retaliation from other countries, and should lose the advantage of the most favoured nation treatment. It was well to take into consideration the fact that this country is an export country mainly of manufactured goods. We have virtually no raw material with the exception of coal. Even if we compared the manufactured

goods that we exported with those that we imported we should find that we sent out forty-five shillings' worth of manufactured goods in comparison with twenty shillings' worth of manufactured goods imported. Therefore we were what is generally called by a wrong expression, the greatest dumpers in the world. Export did not mean dumping, but it was unfortunately used and thus described very largely by the other side. Mr. Moore had said particularly that India is in a favourable condition ; that other countries cannot retaliate against India because India is an exporting country of raw material and food. But the reverse took place with regard to England because, while India is an exporting country of raw material and food, England is the very opposite, and therefore retaliation would hit England enormously. Coming to some other arguments, he would refer to the extraordinary argument that India would be able to retaliate upon other countries by an export tax on jute and lac. According to the authority of Mr. Moore, from figures he had quoted, he had tried to prove that it would bring to India a revenue of £1,800,000. He would say, on the contrary, it would not bring in one single sixpence, because the whole of that could be sent to England and could leave England again, because the only proposition was to put a 20 per cent. extra tax on to the foreigner, but the foreigner simply would not buy one sixpennyworth in India, but would come to England and buy it in England. For instance, in 1907, out of about £8,000,000 worth of jute imported into this country, over £3,000,000 were re-exported, and out of about £1,000,000 worth of lac imported, £500,000 was re-exported. Mr. Moore might perhaps say, "Of course if such a thing happens England will make some other arrangement ; that there will be a 20 per cent. export tax on jute exported out of England." Imagine England putting herself into a position of that kind ; that it could say to America : "If you want jute you will have to pay 20 per cent. more than we do." Are not we dependent far more on the United States for the raw material that we require ? He would ask them to take into consideration American retaliation with regard to cotton. Where would Lancashire be if they could not get the cotton at the cheapest price and as low a price as the Americans ? Did we think that the Americans would let us have cotton at the lowest prices if we would not let them have jute and lac at the lowest prices. He would also like to call attention to Mr. Moore's statement that India need not fear retaliation from foreigners. For instance, Mr. Moore said retaliation on the part of China need not be feared, because the Chinese import duties had been fixed by treaty. But there was this argument with regard to it. Of course, if you alter the conditions under which the treaty was made, the treaty is virtually revoked, and therefore we must consider that China sends to England only about £3,000,000 worth of goods, while we send to China about £17,000,000 worth, mostly manufactures. Therefore China could hit us very hard, and the same would apply with regard to the other countries. He would quote the Argentine Republic as an instance. About £300,000,000 had been invested in the Argentine Republic ; we had developed that country and that money had gone out in the shape of goods. In 1902 we sent to the

Argentine Republic only £6,000,000 worth of goods, and to New Zealand the same; a few years later that export had risen to £20,000,000, while it had only risen by £2,000,000 to New Zealand. His argument was this: If you have a Preference given to India on wheat, to Canada on wheat and beef, to Australia on mutton, etc.—all articles in which the Argentine compete—is it to be supposed that the Argentine would, as Mr. Chamberlain put it, “take it lying down”? Of course not; Argentine would retaliate, and to show how strong the retaliation would be, he would say this: We buy principally raw material and food from them, while they buy from us manufactured goods. As the same manufactured goods could be supplied by Germany, France, and the United States of America, etc., the Argentine could easily retaliate upon us by putting 50 or 100 per cent. more on goods coming from England. There were one or two further points which he would like to mention which were apropos. For instance, he found that from India we receive 321,000,000 lb. of tea and only 17,000,000 lb. from China. The time would, no doubt, be remembered when there was more China tea sold in this country than Indian tea, and yet it is only such a very small proportion of China tea that is sold, and that had been accomplished without any Preference. He thought, considering that they had virtually wiped out Chinese tea, that there was no need for Preference. He would remark that if you told these continental nations, like Germany and France, “You are going to be treated worse; your goods shall not come into India at the same rate as English goods,” they could do considerable harm to the Indian tea-trade, by giving preference to Java. For Mr. Moore himself points out the danger to India tea by increasing competition from Java. And not only could tea, but also other articles in which India, according to Mr. Moore, is supposed to have a monopoly, be grown in other tropical zones, and would compete with India, and the growth of such articles would be fostered by preferential treatment of other countries that would feel aggrieved by India’s Preference to England. Another extraordinary statement made by Mr. Moore was that it was not the intention of England to raise the import duties against the foreigner, but to lower them in favour of our great Eastern Empire, as if the result would not be exactly the same by lowering them in favour of India as by raising them against the foreigner. Therefore you would always have to expect the retaliation of which he had spoken.

MR. S. S. THORBURN said he thought they had been going a little too much into detail, had got rather off the rails, and were forgetting the claims of India. He would remind them that Mr. Moore’s contention was that under Tariff Reform it would be possible to give India fair play, and arrange a tariff with her which would be beneficial to both countries. Mr. Moore had first discussed objections, and, referring to Mr. Gibson Bowles, had quoted from a speech by that gentleman, when a member of Parliament, to the effect that as “India was practically a Free Trade country,” she “could not benefit by a Preference because she had nothing to give in return for a Preference.” Curiously enough, for once Mr. Bowles was right in fact, but his implication was totally erroneous; he forgot to explain that India is, and always has been, intensely Protectionist, and that she

is only Free Trade from compulsion. Hitherto, both commercially and fiscally, we had treated India most unfairly. With regard to Tariff Reform and its application to India, there had been no clear explanation of what it actually meant, and really no two persons regarded it in the same way. Mr. Moore had explained the procedure very well—Tariff Reform would be introduced gradually, piecemeal, each Colony and dependency (in India) negotiating her own terms, and the amount of tariff would be very small. Even under a Free Trade Government we had a good deal of protection; he would refer to the protection afforded to our cocoa manufacturers. With the help of the slight Preference enjoyed by them, Mr. Cadbury and other manufacturers had amassed large fortunes, and their workpeople had steady employment even in times of trade depression. Curious, was it not, that protected Cadbury should be a tower of strength to our present Free Trade Government, and even run the "Cocoa press"! The last speaker had emphasized the Free Trade objection that if we gave India a Preference, foreign countries would retaliate against India. The short answer to that was that to those countries India practically almost wholly exported raw materials, and, being industrial countries inhabited by business men, they knew that their manufactories would starve if they did not receive raw materials. Would a business people cut their own throats by putting on a tariff against India's raw materials merely because India imposed a small import duty upon their manufactured goods? He (Mr. Thorburn) assumed that when India received a free hand and began to negotiate for a tariff, the basis of negotiation would be the present fiscal arrangements between ourselves and India, unjust though those arrangements were to India; for instance, we taxed several Indian products from 20 per cent. to over 300 per cent.—e.g., tea, tobacco, and coffee, and gave India in return no compensation. We grudgingly allowed India to impose an import-duty on Manchester piece goods of 3½ per cent., but as a set-off compelled her to excise equivalently her own cotton manufactures. On the cotton problem he was sorry to say he disagreed with Mr. Moore's proposal, that India should abolish both the 3½ per cent. import and equivalent excise duties. He (Mr. Thorburn) was sure that India would not consent to any such thing for two simple reasons—viz., she must have revenue, and as so far she had only one industry, agriculture, she must be enabled to tide over famine periods for a fraction of her peoples from some other industry. She had been trying to start cotton mills, and, latterly, jute mills, but they were not prosperous; therefore he was convinced that India would never consent to abolish the small duty now imposed upon Manchester piece goods. He thought that, given a free hand, as soon as Tariff Reform was adopted she would put on a duty of something like 10 per cent. on imported cotton goods, and give England a Preference of 5 per cent., perhaps more. She would very likely, in addition, put on a small export duty on raw jute—of which she had the world's monopoly—and a small import duty on manufactured jute. If those two things were done, it would help her to establish her own manufactures—a necessity for her, and would keep Japanese and Chinese cotton goods out of India, and enable England to retain India as her best market for Lancashire

piece-goods of qualities above the capacity of Indian mills. In the remarks he made he wished only to insist upon two points: first, that when Tariff Reform was adopted India must have a free hand, and, secondly, that as India exports practically only raw materials and food-stuffs, and England exports to India only manufactured goods, there was plenty of room for a reciprocal arrangement beneficial to both. Before sitting down, he would remind everyone present that recently we had conceded, under pressure, to India, a measure of representative Government, and that consequently it would be wiser for us to gracefully let her have in time reasonable freedom in her fiscal arrangements, rather than to yield afterwards under the coercion of agitation.

MR. K. VYASA RAO said they were under a great obligation to the lecturer of the evening for the manner in which he had marshalled his facts and figures. The question of fiscal arrangements was a question connected more or less with the general political policy of a country. The general political policy of India had been Free Trade because that policy had been in the ascendant in England. They were all aware that India had every variety of climate, grew almost every product, and possessed a diversified population fit for every task. With regard to its cotton, if the cultivation could be improved, it could compete with every other cotton. He asked, Was it right, under these conditions, to uphold that India should be dragged in the Free Trade path, simply because England had chosen to swear by Free Trade? If India were governed in her own interests, as every part of the Empire should be governed, protection would be the proper fiscal policy for India. He would refer to the dexterity in weaving, which was, next to agriculture, the greatest industry in India, and which had been handed down from generation to generation, and on which millions of people depended for their livelihood. He thought this fact alone required that the excise-duty on cotton manufactures should be removed, retaining the import-duty as it was. If the Indian fiscal policy was to be designed in the interests of India primarily and essentially, then he would say, in regard to the question of excise-duty and the general fiscal policy of the country, that India must become and remain a Protectionist country for a long time to come.

MR. DONALD N. REID said he thought, with regard to the gold reserve, what India wanted was the opening of mints for the free coinage of silver, and the cotton industry would be put on its legs again.

MR. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL stated that what India really most needed was "Protection" against England; and MR. EDWARD PALMER, as an Indian, protested against the statement as opposed to the real sentiments of every loyal Indian.

MR. R. A. LESLIE MOORE, in reply, said he had been attacked on two sides—first, because he had gone too far; and, secondly, because he had not gone far enough. He would like to thank the Chairman for the quotation from an economic authority which strongly supported his suggestion that the coal export tax should be revived. He would also refer to the remarks read by the Chairman from Lord Reay's observations in 1905.

He would like to say, first of all, that Lord Reay in 1905 said there was plenty of cheap labour in India, though he rather doubted it; but it certainly was not so now. Labour was very hard to get, even in agricultural districts. Moreover, however correct Lord Reay had been with regard to the non-existence of strikes in India five years ago, that was not correct now, as strikes, for example, among mill-hands were not uncommon in and near Calcutta and Bombay. Sir Roper Lethbridge, in his paper, had been good enough to make a valuable suggestion which he adopted—viz., that Indian jute exported to Britain and re-exported thence should pay an export tax. All that he had laid himself out to do was to show how a preferential trade arrangement could be made between Britain and India, and he could not see how the references to the Argentine had any relevancy, as the Argentine did not grow tea, coffee, or tobacco. One of the speakers had said that if an export tax was put on jute which America wants, America would put an export tax on cotton which we want. That old argument was brought up in 1903 when Mr. Chamberlain started his scheme of Tariff Reform, and it was pointed out that American duties on exports were contrary to the American Constitution; that you would have to change the American Constitution in order to achieve that object, a very lengthy and difficult procedure. He could understand the contention of the Indian speakers who had suggested that India should be allowed to protect herself against England, but he would like to submit certain considerations in this respect. He would point out that if England offered India Preference it was a very bad return that India should establish Protection against England. It was not indeed a practical suggestion at the present time that India should be allowed to protect herself against English manufactures, for English manufacturers and their employés were the most influential part of the British nation, and though willing to aid India against foreigners would not submit to be penalized by her. There was a great deal to be said on behalf of England. Three hundred years ago India was a manufacturing country, but her manufactures were almost destroyed in the anarchy that ensued on the break-up of the Mogul Empire. It was the Pax Britannica that gave them a chance of reviving. Subsequently they had been fostered by the improvement in the means of internal and external communication effected by England, had been protected on land by the army organized by England and on the sea by the British Navy, to which India contributed nothing. If India closed her markets to British goods, it might well be said that she was biting the hand that rescued her from anarchy and now protected her against all foreign foes.

The CHAIRMAN : My closing remarks must be condensed into a sentence. We have had a most interesting paper by Mr. Moore, and a most vigorous reply to the criticisms which have been made upon it, and I think we have also had a most interesting debate throughout.

A hearty vote of thanks, moved by SIR ROBERT FULLER and seconded by MR. BUCKLAND, was accorded to Mr. Moore for his paper.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by MR. VYASA RAO, seconded by SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT, and supported by MR. LATIF.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

COLONEL GERINI'S RESEARCHES.

SIR,

I beg to reply to Mr. H. J. Allen's letter, which appeared in your last issue, October, 1910. The account of Sz-ma Ts'ien's supposed visit to Yün Nan rests upon six bare words in the *Shi-ki* which he wrote (B.C. 90) : "He received a commission (or was with it) to advance west upon the party south of *Pa* and *Shuh* (east and west Sz Ch'wan) : south he touched upon *K'iung*, *Tsoh*, and *K'un-ming*, returning to report to the Emperor." But the same work says distinctly in two places that no Chinese Mission ever succeeded in getting in the slightest degree through *K'un-ming*, which country blocked their way twice.

Again, the place which M. Chavannes says corresponds to Li-kiang in Yün Nan is said in the commentary to the *Kang Kien* to correspond to quite another place, not so very far from Ch'êng-tu in Sz Ch'wan, and this statement is corroborated in the modern Ming history.

K'un-ming (earlier *K'un-mi*) seems to have originally meant the whole *Nan-chao* country, and so it is stated in the *Nan-chao* History (*Ye-shi*), i.e., it was the Early Siamese or Shan Empire—practically the whole province of Yün Nan.

The word *lioh*, or "touched upon," has a signification corresponding to the French *effleuré*, or skimmed. More-

over, *K'un-ming*, in a narrower sense, is the modern name for Yün-nan Fu, and (I have always understood) also of its lake. But in any case Sz-ma Ts'ien never got there, nor is there any suggestion that he did, whether it means Ta-li Fu or Yün-nan Fu. M. Chavannes is usually very exact, and possibly he may have evidence that it meant Ta-li Fu in this particular place. Anyway, the more wholesale meaning of *K'un-ming* is given above, and Sz-ma Ts'ien could only have touched the northern outskirts of it. No details whatever of even his skimming are given, and nothing is said of his crossing the river, etc., as expanded (upon p. xxxii of his preface) by M. Chavannes.

In any case Mēng-tsz is hundreds of miles from both Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu, and, as its name implies, it is the Shan *Muong-tsz* = "Country of the Tsz."

As to the general question of Confucius' history-book having been forged by Sz-ma Ts'ien, and all the other unthinkable things suggested by Mr. H. J. Allen in his book, I reviewed that book in two journals shortly after it came out (possibly the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* was one), and in my remarks upon Colonel Gerini, I was simply alluding to what I had said more fully before when I ridiculed any possible connection between the philosopher *Mēng-tsz* (300 B.C.) and the treaty-port of *Mēng-tsz* (first mentioned, I believe, in Kublai Khan's time—say 1270 A.D.).

December 2, 1910.

E. H. PARKER.

CHINA.

IN the very interesting Annual Report of the China Inland Mission for 1910 there is the following general statement of the remarkable changes in China, which will interest many of our readers:

"In reviewing the events of the year 1909 in China, any hasty generalizations would be entirely misleading, for in the midst of many signs of change and progress—not always synonymous—there have been marked evidences of re-

actionary forces. The reader will perhaps be best able to appreciate the real position by a brief summary of some of the leading events which mark the footsteps of progress and reaction.

"The event for which the year will probably be best remembered in history was the Inauguration of the Provincial Assemblies, which may be regarded as the first definite step towards Representative Government. In pursuance of a promise made in 1906, an Imperial Edict was issued in September, 1907, ordering the establishment at Peking of a National Assembly of Ministers to prepare the way for Constitutional Government. A few days later another Edict ordered the appointment of Town Councils with local representatives for local self-government, and finally, in October, 1907, another Edict commanded the establishment of Provincial Assemblies as a link between these purely local and the National Assemblies, the members of the Imperial body to be in future selected from the Provincial companies.

"On October 14, 1909, these new Provincial Assemblies met for the first time, the inauguration being signalized with becoming ceremony. The photographs of the Honan Provincial Assembly buildings erected in Kaifengfu, which are reproduced in this volume, will give the reader a vivid idea of the remarkable innovations which have taken place in connection with these Assemblies. Old Examination Halls have had to give way to new buildings, in a new style of architecture, for a purpose entirely new in Chinese history.

"The number of members elected to sit has varied from 140 in the Province of Chihli to 30 in the Province of Kirin, and the returns show that nearly a thousand persons voted for the return of each representative. The franchise is in the main granted to any male possessed of property worth about £600, and to anyone with a degree under the old examination system, or who has graduated from a Government, Middle, or High School. Graduation in a Mission

school is not recognized, and thus, unfortunately, scholars from some of the best schools in China are disfranchised. This decision is not necessarily anti-Christian, but simply because Mission schools have not official status.

"The vigorous prosecution of the anti-Opium programme is another most hopeful sign of progress. The White Paper issued by the British Government (China, No. 3, 1909) gives abundant testimony that China has done exceedingly well in enforcing non-production, and the enormous enhancement of price in the matter of Indian opium has been acknowledged by the Hong-Kong Chamber of Commerce as proving the decrease of production in China. It is to be deeply regretted that the Shanghai Opium Commission, in which thirteen nations participated, and the more recent attitude of the British Government, have been adverse to a more speedy termination of the trade.

"During the year some 480 new post-offices were opened, or nearly ten a week, making 3,973 in all at the close of 1909, while 40,000,000 more articles were dealt with than in the preceding year, or a total of 292,000,000 articles. The Peking to Kalgan Railway, built entirely by the Chinese, and commenced in October, 1905, was completed and opened on September 24, 1909. It is hoped that this line—which constitutes a great engineering feat for the Chinese by reason of the inclines, bridging, and tunnelling—will be extended to Kiachta. The line has a rise of 1,800 feet in $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, has four long tunnels, one nearly 1,200 yards long, has twenty-one concrete bridges, and was built by H.E. Jemie Tien-You, a name destined to become famous in the annals of Chinese railways.

"The official opening of the Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway as far as Fenching took place on May 29, 1909, while the Tongking-Yunnanfu line was practically completed, though not opened, by February, 1910, and other important lines are being pressed forward.

"Commissions on Currency, Naval, and Military reform were despatched from China to Europe and America, Prince

Tsai Tao, in charge of the Military Commission, reaching England just in time to represent his country at the funeral of King Edward VII. The Manchurian Convention was signed on September 4, and thus disposed of the Chientao dispute, by acknowledging China's nominal sovereignty over the district. Japan, subsequent to her ultimatum in August, immediately took in hand the reconstruction of the Antung-Mukden Railway, and by the Kirin-Kwangchengtze agreement, signed the same month, added immeasurably to her grasp upon Manchuria.

"Minor troubles connected with mining rights, local Chinese boycotts, the Macao boundary dispute, the Harbin municipal administration difficulties, need not be specified. The various important negotiations for loans for the great Central China railways, with some measure of international rivalry, and the definite entry of American capital into the Chinese railway field, mark the year as an important one in railway history.

"In the main the modern educational movement has continued to spread. One of China's highest officials has even allowed his daughter to go about Peking freely, with unbound feet, in company with a foreign governess. These and other things of a like nature show how surely, though it be with many signs of hesitation and reluctance, China is breaking away from her old mooring.

"Turning now briefly to the other side, many signs of reaction can be seen in contrast to the evidences of progress. The year opened with the sudden and unexpected dismissal of H.E. Yuan Shih-kai, and later of H.E. Tuan Fang. Local riots took place in the provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Kwangtung, and, more recently, though that really belongs to the year 1910, the serious riots in Hunan have called the world's attention to the elements of disorder so easily let free in China.

"The year 1909 closed with a very strange revival of anti-foreign rumours, and the wide dissemination of circulars inimical to foreign Powers. This literature, probably circu-

lated by means of the postal system, has found its way into the modern schools and practically into every province, and has given rise to grave fears in the minds of many. It may also be mentioned in this connection that much of the Chinese Press has come under official control, to the limiting of the free expression of opinion for good or ill as the case may be.

"After all, it is probable that China's greatest problem is financial. After a lapse of seven years, since her promise in the Commercial Treaty of 1902, China has done practically nothing beyond issuing edicts in the matter of producing a uniform national currency. China's foreign loans call for an annual payment of £7,427,450; the annual charges in settlement of the Boxer indemnity are 18,800,000 taels; and her internal expenses and financial difficulties are yearly increasing.

"By the death of H.E. Chang Chih-tung, H.E. Sun Chia-nai, and H.E. Yang Shih-hsiang, China lost during 1909 three of her eminent statesmen. The Tibetan policy has led to the flight of the Dalai Lama into India, and, for the present at least, made the possibility of the evangelization of Tibet more difficult than before. The strictest regulations prohibit any foreign missionary entering Tibetan territory, and even impose restrictions upon work among the independent States on the Tibetan border."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS ; SHANGHAI.

i. *Bouddhisme Chinois*, by REV. LÉON WIEGER, S.J.
 Vol. I. This tremendous work, the first volume of which consists of nearly 500 pages, quite takes one's breath away. We have already had the pleasure of noticing in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* Father Wieger's little book on "Chinese Folk-Lore," printed, like the present work, in inexpensive style and in the French language. The most interesting part of Buddhism, Vol. I., to the general reader will be the Introduction (100 pages), which first goes into the questions of Indo-Iranians, Mazdeism, Vedism, and Brahmanism; then proceeds to discuss the Upanishad, the first notions of philosophy, realistic pantheism, the Vedanta, systematization, and so on to idealistic pantheism. Next we come to the Samkhya and atheistic multianimism, the Yoza and theistic asceticism, the practical reaction of Buddha, the Hinayana and Mahayana, Amidism, Tantrism, and the nomenclature of the Indian and Chinese Buddhistic schools. Finally, we are given a short historical sketch of Chinese Buddhism.

The above alone is sufficient to test the intellectual capacity of all but severe specialists; but—apart from the untold number of volumes to come—there are still, following the Introduction, 400 pages of translated Chinese text, i.e., 200 pages of original text and 200 pages of French

translation. It seems to be the author's ultimate intention to plod steadily through the whole interminable Tripitaka, of which there exist complete copies in the Bodleian, and also in the library of the Owens College, Manchester. For the present we have a bibliography of the Tripitaka and Vinaya; fourteen texts of receptions, precepts, instructions, formularies, and principle cases; then the four assizes, anecdotes, holiday arrangements, monks' and nuns' special formularies, etc. It would be necessary for many to begin life afresh in order to absorb all this Buddhistic matter, the general tenor of which a *Postface* at the extreme end of the book sums up in one single page. All the grizzled writer of these lines can ever hope to do is to seize any available moments left free from his own especial studies to dip occasionally into this gigantic mass of new matter, and, if possible, to assimilate the cream of the complicated ideas. Meanwhile it is important for Buddhist specialists to know that a book exists, in cheap form, where they can find most of what they want to know. As proof of what a *rude travailleur* Father Wieger is, it may be added that a list of his other vast works shows books of 1,513, 785, 548, 102, 854, 2,173, 550, and 421 pages *already published*, besides others in preparation.—E. H. PARKER.

2. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No 29. *Concordance des Chronologies Néoméniques Chinoise et Européenne*, by (the late) REV. PÈRE PETER HOANG, of the Nanking clergy. As the (innominate) Introduction (*Avertissement*) tells us, this "Grand Old Man" of China had prepared for the present volume an extensive introductory chapter on the Chinese Calendar in general; but as the venerable and indefatigable author of this stupendous work (nearly 600 closely-printed pages) died in October, 1909, at the age of eighty-four, having worked in bed up to the last possible moment, it has not even yet been found possible to translate properly from the original Latin Père Hoang's highly technical "testament," a matter which requires time

and patience. Almost his last letter was to the present writer, when he stoically said: "I shall probably be dead before this reaches you, but I feel satisfaction, before turning my final thoughts to spiritual things, in saying good-bye, with thanks for our pleasant five years' correspondence." The Concordance will be of such vast service to students of Chinese history and archæology that the Editorial Committee of Siccawei has thought it best to publish the bulk of the work at once, whilst some competent hand translates the Latin Introduction. "On n'a pas pensé qu'il fallut retarder d'autant la publication de la 'Concordance Chronologique,' appelée à rendre de grands services à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de la Chine. Dans la préface du Père Hoang on trouvera les explications nécessaires pour l'usage des tables." When it is remembered that there have been fifty-seven changes of calendar since the third great dynasty (about 1200 B.C.) made further alterations in the computations used by the first (2205-1767) and second (1766-1123) dynasties, whose celestial computations are more or less on record; and that in order to reconcile the "superfluities" of the moon with the orbit of the sun, it has been necessary at different times to "spatchcock" into the year two, three, and even four, extra "moons," or to knock off one or two moons—not to mention the fact that many Chinese dates are given in perpetual sixty-year cycle terms alone;—it may be well understood what *labores fastidiosos* the good priest has had to tackle in order to fit about one million successive Chinese days with their exact Gregorian dates. Père Hoang seems, after all, to have managed to pen a short preface of one page before he died, and this has been put into French by someone else over his signature. In it he explains how a *literal* translation of a Chinese date too often serves to confuse a European reader, and why therefore he has chosen the expression *equivalent* date in order to reconcile the Chinese lunar day exactly with the European solar day. It must also be borne in mind that sunrise and sunset in China

—as also moonrise and moonset—are half a day ahead of the same in Western Europe. “Puissent sinologues et missionnaires dans leurs travaux respectifs” (says Père Hoang in his last breath) “en tirer les fruits que j'en attends, et je ne regretterai pas les heures consacrées à ce laborieux et parfois très fastidieux travail.”—E. H. PARKER.

3. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 30. *Histoire du Royaume de Tsin*, by PÈRE ALBERT TSCHÉPE, S.J. Father Tschepe has already distinguished himself by his masterly dissertations upon Ts'in, Wu, Ts'u, and other portions of Old China, and now he has given us in a beautifully printed volume of between 400 and 500 pages a carefully elaborated and properly tabulated history of the most important State of all, that corresponding in a general way to the modern province of Shan Si, as the other three just mentioned do likewise to the provinces of Shen Si, Kiang Su, and the Middle Yangtsze Valley. The State of Tsin is all the more interesting to us in that there exists at this moment in the Victoria and Albert Museum a large bronze bowl, with a historical inscription in ancient character of the highest value, making specific allusion to the *grand roi Tsin Wén-kong* [635-628 B.C.], *l'une des figures les plus chevaleresques de la Chine*, subsequent to whose reign *le roi de Tsin est, pour ainsi dire, l'empereur de la Chine d'alors ; rien ne peut se faire que sur ses ordres, ou du moins avec sa permission*. Moreover, as Père Tschepe truly tells us, the State of Tsin comprised more elements of the Chinese race—that is, the governing or most highly cultured portions of that race—than any other, having contained nearly all the most ancient capitals. In later times (seventh century), when the Imperial power was reduced to a shadow, when the Imperial State itself was a mere spiritual power in possession of a small temporal domain, and when the rest of China consisted of a number of independent warring States, Tsin, to a certain extent, assumed the rôle of protector of all the States in the Emperor's name and interest; and, indeed, the *chevaler-*

esque Duke Wēn of Tsin above referred to was the second of the so-called *Wu Pa*, or Five Tyrants, who in turn "held the cow by the ear." Even when other States were nominal protectors or doyens of the princely ruling corps, Tsin to the last had a powerful diplomatic say. Probably the reason, in part at least, why to this day the Shan Si bankers, or *Lao-hsi'-rh*, command the money markets of China is that from the beginning an hereditary superiority of race and intellect in the Tsin people has been elsewhere tacitly recognized. To a certain extent Père Tschepe's "*Histoire du Royaume de Tsin*" follows the lines of "*Ancient China Simplified*"—a book I published in 1908 with a view of rendering intelligible to the general reader the political principles which governed the Warring State Period; indeed, it is only fair to Père Tschepe to say that his previous publications above cited first suggested to me the idea of reducing the whole series of vassal State annals to a sort of digest. It is to be hoped that Père Tschepe will continue this task—but, of course, upon a much larger scale than mine—and will in due course give us in full detail the histories of Ts'i, Yen, Sung, Shuh, and the other "Powers," great and small.—E. H. PARKER.

CHAPMAN AND HALL; LONDON.

4. *Studies in Chinese Religion*, by E. H. PARKER. This book seems to be intended as a sort of amplification of a more popular and condensed work, entitled "*China and Religion*," published by Mr. Murray in 1905, and duly reviewed in these columns. So far as can be judged by a preliminary perusal of the present essays—some of which may perhaps merit most careful scrutiny—they are now re-submitted as *pièces justificatives*, it having been presumed that the comparatively limited public specially interested in such matters will have already acquainted themselves with the more general considerations advanced in the earlier work, and will be prepared to consider more exact details.

of evidence. It does not always appear in what magazine or newspaper Mr. Parker's original articles appeared, but some of those upon Confucianism and Buddhism at least undoubtedly saw first light in this *Review*, as did also, apparently, one of those upon "Early Christianity" and the essay upon "Early Writing Materials." Others, again, if we remember rightly, were originally published in the *Dublin Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Overland China Mail*, the *University Review*, and various encyclopaedias; in fact, the author manifestly has not considered it necessary to "specify his origins" at all, except in cases when editors of journals or proprietors of photographs have specially invited him to do so—so, at least, his preface would seem to imply. The first thing that strikes one in the body of the work is the number of repetitions; for instance, we are told several times over that the first Emperor devoured a hundredweight or so a day of bamboo archives, and that a certain Empress actually possessed an ancient copy of Laocius's original classic, and cast a temerarious courtier to the swine because he spoke disrespectfully of the recluse's doctrine. Yet there may be a certain amount of method in this apparent madness, for, after all, each essay was originally intended to be complete in itself; and to dislodge now this or that link simply because another essay—written perhaps ten years earlier or later—says the same thing would, perhaps, have the effect of dislocating the continuity of each specific line of argument. At the same time, we cannot forget that the same peculiarity was remarked in Mr. Parker's "*Ancient China Simplified*" two years ago, and was then justified by the author, if we mistake not, by the plea that certain main points and principles had to be driven into the brain of non-specialist readers at all costs. False statements die hard, and it is at least equally hard to replace them by setting up the truth. Hence, we suppose, a plan of campaign which for shapeliness and harmony certainly does not commend itself too much to the average general reader.

One of the articles, that on Chinese Blessedness,—a

curious title, invented, Mr. Parker tells us, by the learned editor of the "Encyclopædia of Religion"—opens comparatively new ground, and attracts attention by its excursions into the practical field of Chinese village or social life. Here we see clearly how government, religion, morality, and paternal power are insensibly merged into one main principle of life; and also how this fleeting life itself is viewed as a mere phase of life generally—of past life, of future life, and of eternity backwards and forwards. This is a way of regarding the matter which, so far as we know, has never suggested itself to the "inventors" of any other religion, but which, however "false" it may be from the Jewish, Christian, or Mussulman point of view, has at least the merit of logical consistency. However much Chinese provinces may differ in the details of family law or social custom, it has been gradually found by those who have travelled widely in the Celestial Empire, or who have collected and co-ordinated the notes sent from foreign residents in various parts of that same Empire, that, after all, the main principles of conduct are everywhere in China precisely the same. This is, of course, largely owing to the fact that until the past ten years or so every single child in those vast dominions studied from exactly the same books; received exactly the same political, religious, and moral explanations of the contents of those books; listened to teachers permeated by the same ideas; and was tested by the same official examiners as to his fitness for one and the same class of administrative posts. Not even in Russia, where a very successful attempt has been made (subject to Nihilistic opposition) to bring up illiterate millions to one and the same way of thinking, has there ever been so complete, and yet in a way so free and so liberal, an "enslavement" of the mind of man. The ancient ancestral religion of China, despite the importation of Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, Manicheism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism, seems to be still the most powerful spiritual force that has possession of the Chinese mind. If we are to believe

Mr. Parker, Laocius and Confucius only rang new changes on the old chimes, and practically did no more than give Radical and Conservative expression to the same ancient words. However, readers must judge for themselves. The whole matter is thoroughly threshed out in the form of careful studies, probably as much for Mr. Parker's own satisfaction as for the conversion of readers to any particular view of the subjects under discussion ; and it is for each student to form his own opinion how far the author has been successful, or at least lucid and consistent.—CHRISTIAN.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

5. *Hunting Camps in Wood and Wilderness*, by H. HESKETH PRICHARD, F.Z.S. Anyone—not necessarily the “open-air man” or the “strong silent man”—can enjoy this book, as it not only deals with shooting in all parts of the globe, but it is also very well written. Mr. Prichard can describe the pampas of Patagonia (where he shot guanaco and the native “ostriches,” which are in reality rheas), caribou shooting in Newfoundland, guemal hunting in the Andes, and life in Labrador among the Eskimo and Moravian missionaries, whom he praises, equally well. Then later on he contrasts in excellent manner an elk season in Norway with moose hunting (by moose calling) in Canada. It is not only the descriptions of his sport (and Mr. Prichard is not a hunter that kills only for the bag) that make this book worth reading, but also the disquisitions contained in it on the habits of the hunted, bushcraft, camping, and many things he has seen and felt which please both the naturalist and the lover of sport. The illustrations by Lady Helen Graham and E. G. Caldwell (though not all of equal merit) deserve a word of praise, and a very short foreword by F. C. Selous must be mentioned.—A. F. S.

HUTCHINSON AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *The Great Empress-Dowager of China*, by PHILIP W. SERGEANT, B.A., former editor of the *Hong Kong Daily Press*. Mr. Sergeant's book gives us, in condensed form, one of the most correct and carefully compiled foreign accounts of the late Dowager's fifty years of political life that there is in existence. In his preface the author modestly disclaims any claim to the title of sinologist, and specially apologizes for his imperfections in the spelling of native names. He may, however, be quite at ease, for, so long as a man *is* right, it does not much matter whether or no he has a *title* to be right; and, for the matter of that, the late Dr. S. W. Bushell and the late Dr. E. Bretschneider, throughout their whole Chinese career, gave to the world more sustainedly correct work than any sinologist of their generation, though both disclaimed a right to that title in their own person. And as to spelling, unless a writer professes to adopt one system—*e.g.*, that of Wade—or to stick to one dialect—*e.g.*, Pekingese or Cantonese—it really does not matter much to the reader; for, after all, all romanization of Chinese sounds must in any case be imperfect, and very few even of the most learned sinologues have any broad knowledge of the true principles governing all Chinese dialects alike. The book is dedicated to "R. F. J." and as the preface makes acknowledgments to Mr. R. F. Johnstone, of Weihaiwei, who has himself just published a most scholarly book, we may take it that Mr. Sergeant, whose book is almost equally scholarly—despite its lack of sinology—refers to that gentleman in his dedication. Mr. Headland's "Court Life in China," from which Mr. Sergeant frankly quotes here and there, is rather a gossiping history of Manchu familiar life, more especially as it touches high Court circles; whilst, on the other hand, Mr. Sergeant's book is almost exclusively political, laying more stress on the late Empress's administrative methods than upon her private surroundings. We have been through

every page and word of the book. With the exception of one big "howler" at the end (for which the Hong Kong newspapers were originally responsible over two years ago), there are really no very serious mistakes. The "howler" in question is a circumstantial account (pp. 304, 305) of the death of Prince K'ing, who is still alive and "kicking." As several London newspapers fell into the same trap, perhaps Mr. Sergeant cannot be seriously blamed; but none the less it is strange, seeing that he posts us up with events in September last, that, after two years' interval, he should still imagine Prince K'ing to be dead. His account of the "Boxer" revolt is, on the whole, very complete and judiciously pruned; but it is rather remarkable that, although Yühien and T'ai-yüan Fu come in for frequent mention, not a word is said anywhere of Yühien's wholesale massacre of foreign missionaries at T'ai-yüan Fu. This is like the "Prince of Denmark" without Hamlet in it. Non-specialists may safely read this book through from beginning to end, and feel confident that they are being exactly informed; indeed, Mr. Sergeant is to be heartily congratulated upon his scrupulous accuracy, except as above mentioned, and in a few trivial matters. The index, however, is poor, and it is to be regretted that no map is given; even a skeleton sketch-map would have sufficed to steer the general reader through. The pictures are admirable.—E. H. PARKER.

ERNEST LEROUX ; PARIS.

7. *Le T'ai-chan ; Essai de Monographie d'un Culte Chinois. Appendice, Le Dieu du Sol dans la Chine Antique*, by PROFESSOR EDOUARD CHAVANNES. Everything that Professor Chavannes writes is certain to be of the highest order, and we may always be quite sure that the utmost pains have been taken by him to ascertain the exact truth, and, moreover, the whole of it. The present book comes *de molde*, as the Spaniards say, at a moment when the public is being deluged with works on Chinese

religion. The worship of Heaven and Earth upon the summit and lower levels respectively of the celebrated T'ai Shan, or Mount T'ai of Shan Tung, is part and parcel of the old natural religion of China, and during the whole 2,700 years of genuine—*i.e.*, exactly dated—native history, it can only be said with certainty to have taken place some half a dozen times, and this has always been when true native, highly literary, and admittedly beneficent dynasties have been in power; preferably also when such same dynasties have safely passed through a crisis, have re-asserted their might, and have received in some measure the support of popular opinion. The Emperor alone can communicate with heaven on the summit of T'ai Shan, and it is extremely interesting to read the minute details of how this solemn function was carried out. The Emperor's message to God was carved on slabs of the most precious jade; the sunken pictographs were filled in with the purest gold, bound together with jade clamps tied round with golden bands, inserted in a jade box, carefully sealed with an artistic seal and a kind of "wax" fashioned out of gold-dust paste. This being complete, the whole jade apparatus was sunk into a hollow chamber fashioned out of three heavy stones, one placed on the top of the other. These stones, again, were bound and sealed up with a larger seal, and bodily enclosed in a larger stone chest, which, once more, was protected by a kind of stone wall-work, round which a mound of earth was constructed. What with the huge escorts, the cost of luxurious conveyances and stately clothing, and the various miscellaneous expenses connected with a journey from the capital over several hundred miles of country to the distant T'ai Shan, in Shan Tung province, the Imperial expenditure on each occasion must have amounted to several millions sterling at least, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that, for this reason alone, an average of 300 years has interposed between each function. During the feudal period it is extremely doubtful if any vassal Prince ever ventured to usurp the Imperial

function of sacrificing. No Tartar, Turk, Tibetan, Manchu, or other foreign dynasty, has eyer presumed to make this supreme sacrifice, which, on the other hand, has nothing whatever to do with Confucianism, though as a rule the hereditary Confucian noble has been present in the Emperor's suite in his representative capacity, together with tributary Princes, hereditary representatives of extinct dynasties, and foreign Ambassadors.

M. Chavannes is the first foreigner to make a thorough-going inquiry into this extremely venerable form of worship ; at any rate, he is the first to do it with the least show of thoroughgoing research. An appendix treats of the almost equally interesting worship of the Gods of the Soil, a form of ancient worship which may at this day be seen in full popular swing, at least in one of its many phases, at the door of every house in Canton about the hour of sunset. It is almost impossible to do justice in the saintest degree (within the limits allotted to a cursory notice) to Professor Chavannes' splendid volume of nearly 600 pages. The author, it seems, has twice visited the spot himself, and he has thus been able to furnish the public with a selection of photographs best suited to give European readers some idea of the surroundings. Great pains have been taken to make the index as complete as possible. This alone covers fifty pages, and is of great assistance to the reader.—
E. H. PARKER.

LANGENSCHEIDTSCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG ; BERLIN.

8. *Methode Toussaint-Langenscheidt. Japanisch, durch Selbstunterricht.* Verfasst von Rennosuke Fujisawa. This is a pocket-book of exactly 500 pages, and contains an immense amount of information suitable, of course, for all residents, but specially for travellers, besides being in a general way a grammar, a vocabulary, a complete letter-writer, and, shortly, a mine of information in matters concerning Japan. The chief novelty in this "Self-teaching Method" seems to be that it is coupled with full directions how to

apply the gramophone to the self-instruction principles, in such wise that the eye, the ear, and the reason can all work together to a common end. It is divided into four parts. The first part treats of the alphabet, the diacritical marks used, the parts of speech (or their Japanese equivalents), and the variations in speech demanded by courtesy, disparity in rank, and so on. The second part consists of excellent literal word-for-word dialogue translations, followed by free current renderings in German, so that the student can first of all see how in a general way the Japanese currently translate the main sense of German colloquial, and, secondly, how the word-for-word construction of sentences differs in the two languages. In this way special sub-chapters are given to sport, weather, voyages, customs duties, inns, restaurants, crops, visits of politeness, exchange, telegraphs and posts, barbers, apothecaries, newspapers, religion, street life, and many other things. It is doubtful if any other manual—not even excepting those of Mr. B. H. Chamberlain—provides so much fare and in so concise a form. Although the author introduces a few short marks not hitherto used by Hepburn, Satow, Chamberlain, and others (whose only diacritical mark is the long mark), his general spelling system seems to differ in no very perceptible way from the romanization forms hitherto adopted by English grammarians and lexicographers. Even the English *j* (equivalent to the clumsy German *dsch*) is happily allowed to stand. The third part is a simple German vocabulary, in which the Japanese equivalent is usually given in one single word, without explanation or qualification of any kind, except where one or two examples are desirable in order to avoid equivoque. The fourth part is much in the style of Chamberlain's "Things Japanese," and consists of a number of short explanatory essays upon the interior administrations, feasts and holidays, religion (*bushidō*, *shintō*, etc.), social customs, spiritual life, places worth visiting, hints for strangers, and so on. For Germans this book must be absolutely invaluable, whether they know Japanese well,

currently, or not at all; in fact, in its wonderful compactness and neat, small, clear printing, on thin but strong and opaque paper, it recalls in *technique* the admirable little Anglo-French pocket dictionary of Bellows published about thirty-five years ago. The Germans as a rule do not shine in conciseness and clearness, but in this charming little book there does not seem to be a waste word, and there is an entire absence of "overweighted professorialness." Whether these virtues are all those of Mr. Rennosuke Fujisawa, or whether the Germans are commencing a wholesome reform from their excessive thoroughness, argumentativeness, and long-windedness, and are thus entitled to share the glory of a complete success, it is not for the present writer to say. Anyhow, congratulations to whom congratulations may be honestly due. Englishmen must, of course, have a fairly good workable knowledge of German in order to use the work to advantage, and of course one must actually be in Japan to *savourer* the many rich and varied flavours, which in far-away Europe chiefly appeal to the imagination. In any case, great credit is due to the Langenscheidt family.—E. H. PARKER.

CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON.

9. *The Face of Manchuria, Korea, and Russian Turkestan*, by E. G. KEMP, F.R.S.G.S., author of "The Face of China." Illustrated with twenty-four plates. This is a pleasantly written and readable enough book on the whole, but undoubtedly the get-up and the plates are the best part of it—the one attractive and picturesque, the other well defined and artistic as to both colour and detail. Like so many of the books of modern travel, turned out as they are on the penny-in-the-slot system, as practised on pigs in Chicago—going in living impressions at one end, and coming out limp-lettered sausages at the other—this book is far too ambitious, and aims at accomplishing too much in much too limited a time and space. The map and title are in them-

selves a speaking commentary. To see Manchuria, Korea, and Russian Turkestan even (so to speak) out of railway trains inside the space of four months, is in itself no easy task ; but to attempt to write on them from an instructive, or even interesting, standpoint is a faculty that few are capable of. There are, indeed, few writers who are so quick to observe as to be able to condense their impressions into intelligent word-pictures. Besides, the impressions of a train traveller, whose outlook is of necessity limited, is not the real aspect of a country and its people.

True, to save her face, as they say in China, the authoress only aims at describing the faces of these different countries ; but here, again, she gives herself away, for even the face of a country, as seen only in its cities, is at best but circumscribed and artificial. And if appearances are deceptive, as assuredly they are, the city face is the most deceptive of all. It is not in cities, with their town-bred inhabitants, that one sees the real country and its manhood. In the one we are reminded of man, in the other of God. This apart, the views of the writer—as seen out of the tinted spectacles of the Christian missionary—are further limited. As Thackeray so truly observes, “We view the world through our own eyes, each of us, and make from within us the things we see.” And there are no people in the world whose opinions are so narrow and preconceived and whose prejudices are so firmly and deeply rooted as proselytizing evangelists. Well-meaning and sincere, no doubt, taken as a body, they are quite the last persons of any to go to for a just and accurate estimate of Eastern and African races. Missionaries all the world over are but proselytizers in disguise. They are so fenced in by limitations—social, ethnic, and sectarian—their outlook on life is so narrowed down to the horizon and focus of their own little Western homestead, that they are absolutely incapable of forming a reasonable or equable judgment on the basis of a broad humanity. The good they may do—at the most negative—is altogether counterbalanced by the evil ; for all

their efforts are aimed at uprooting in one blow the very foundation-stone of the social and religious fabric of the nations amongst whom they labour, whether Chinese, Hindu, or African. Not content with such ruthless vandalism, they supplement it by a system that is not only geographically and ethnically foreign to it, but as a revolutionary and antagonistic measure, opposed to the very root principles of Nature. They are a dangerous element and a disturbing factor in an Eastern State, as the history of China for the past ten decades has shown us. They are so very bigoted and uneven in their estimate of outside creeds. It is surprising, therefore, that so travelled a person as the authoress should subscribe herself to their opinions; more surprising still to find an educated woman of the twentieth century, with five letters after her name, and the author of two books, making so very rash a statement as that "a woman, according to the universal Mohammedan belief, has no soul." This shows us, if anything does, how little we have progressed in reality, not alone in geography, but history, and, above all, in the broad spirit of humanity! We would advise Miss Kemp to read what Lady Mary Stuart Wortley, writing in 1717, has to say on the subject (a cheap edition of her letters is to be had in Everyman's Library for a shilling) at pp. 139, 178, and 108. Let her also Burton's "Pilgrimage to Mecca," and she will find how utterly in the wrong and absurd is this soulless theory. And if she wants to know the real truth about Moslems, she cannot do better than read Syed Ameer Ali's "Spirit of Islam"—a fine book by a cultured and broad-minded Moslem. Or, better still, if she would venture to pass her time, as the writer has done, among Moslems of all shades and descriptions, and under varying conditions and circumstances, she could not but learn to appreciate the moral value and spirit of the creed at its true worth.—ARTHUR G. LEONARD.

HERBERT AND DANIEL; LONDON.

10. *The Land of the Yellow Spring, and other Stories*, by F. HADLAND DAVIS. This volume is a collection of exquisite Japanese idylls exemplifying Love, visible and invisible, in many phases.

Now that Lafcadio Hearn's inspiration will never again flow from his pen concerning the land he loved, it is a consolation that an author of his school has arisen—one to whom has been given a wonderful insight into the mind and character of the Japanese race.

The stories contained within "The Land of the Yellow Spring," stir slumbering emotions within us as they play upon our own heart-strings; they are full of the sweetness of love, often glorified to glowing purity through the furnace of affliction. It is somewhat hard to make a selection to which to call the reader's attention, but perhaps the three gems of the book are "The Love of Yusuyuki," "The Way of the Gods," and "The Finished Picture."

The author has handled his subject in a most delicate and subtle manner. He has caught the spirit of Old Japan, not so much after the manner of most writers in dedicating that spirit, as the national perogative of her sons, but the spirit of Old Japan manifested through the hearts of her brave armies of true and loving women, by whose teaching and direction the sons of her Empire have secured world-wide admiration. Whatever care the father may bestow upon his offspring, it is the mother who moulds the soul and mind of her children, and instils that loyalty and patriotism as well as other characteristics that are often severely tested in the time of national need.

This volume would have been more unique if the author had not interwoven with those of his own imagination many standard tales of Japan, too familiar already by far to those readers to whom "The Land of the Yellow Spring" will most appeal. We hope this book is only one of a series, and that other volumes will be issued of a like

nature from the pen of Mr. Hadland Davis. Stories such as these have taken the place of the poems of the past. The mature mind revels in these cameos of thought, struck off in moments when the personal magnetism of one race draws towards that of another. These idylls are like the buds of spring flowers : their beauty cannot be realized all at once. They mature as we think over them in solitude or during the stress of life and work. It matters little whether such love as Mr. Hadland Davis depicts emanates from the heart that prays to Amida Buddha or to the God of Love Divine, it is enough that such love exists and is capable of fruition ! Mr. Hadland Davis will always have a following. Notwithstanding the world's admiration of Japan's advance, there are many still living to whom the spirit of the race so widely divergent to any other has charmed with its necromancy and witchery in a manner that is paramount over any other attraction.

We heartily congratulate the publisher on the admirable and fitting manner in which this volume is produced.—S.

CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON.

11. *Sport and Travel in the Far East*, by T. C. GREW ; with eighty illustrations from photographs by the author. The day when the new book was hailed with pleasure and read with profit has certainly gone, never to return. Like crinolines and corkscrew curls, four-bottle men and sedan-chairs, the good old days and the great old books are things of the past. Books, like everything else—women, journalism, automobiles, aeroplanes, hats, skirts, even infants who commence life as enfeebled old dotards—are new : glaringly and painfully new. Or rather, they would have us believe they are, when, after all, they are nothing but old-time creations resuscitated, renovated, and so dressed as to look chic and up-to-date. Modernism, in a word, is but the old in the thin disguise of youth. But with this difference in the book line, that with printing

made so cheap and easy as it now is, there are so many people who have something to say. It is, in fact, the fashion to rush into print. Thus it is that sucking lords, Members of Parliaments, ex-Presidents of the United States, evangelists, actors, actresses, golf players, cricketers, travellers, sportsmen, and last, but by no means least, American globe-trotters, all think it the thing to do to write a book of what they have seen on their travels and how they have seen it, obviously, on the broad and fulsome principle that "A book's a book, altho' there's nothing in't." To be sure, one's name looks well in print, and one gets a sort of a reputation as an author among one's own select circle. Human vanity is as easily tickled as the bear by a bun or the trout by a fly. But, after all, reputation of this kind, like so many of our modern fads and crazes, if not spurious, is at least cheap. Modern authors, however, do not see things in this light, so they go on writing—at their own risk and expense 'tis true—and publishers go on publishing. Hence the output, like the ever perennial brook, flows on for ever, and goes on mounting up and up at an awful rate. Nor is it surprising that the English publishers alone can turn out 5,000 books in three months, while there are about the same number in the making. And the cry is still they come, following each other as misfortunes and misfits do, four deep, and in serried battalions. So the unfortunate reader or reviewer finds himself in the same awkward fix as Tam O'Shanter—

"When out the hellish legion sallied
As bees buzz out wi' angry fyke."

Not alone is he between the devil and the deep sea, but he is surrounded on all sides by Scyllas and Charybdises in the shape of books that make, or rather are made, for sport and travel.

Mr. Grew's volume is one that comes within this category. It does not grow on you like the peach in the hothouse. It covers a vast deal of ground—from Boston

to Singapore, Singapore to New Zealand, and New Zealand to India—covers so much ground, in fact, that it is thin and attenuated and stretched out to cracking-point. In other words, although pleasantly enough written, and with a certain amount of personal interest, there is little or nothing of solid matter inside its pages that need have been written.

—ARTHUR G. LEONARD.

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON.

12. *The Gates of India*, by COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., D.S.C. I do not think that there is any living Englishman who could have written a book on the subject treated under this title with the same personal knowledge and authority as Sir Thomas Holdich. We have in this book a geographical history of the lands which extend from the Persian Gulf, round by Herat and Merv to the Pamirs and the sources of the Oxus. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, whose addresses delivered before the Royal Geographical Society and other learned assemblies, on the Frontiers of India and kindred topics, are remembered by many, and whose travels in Central Asia and monumental work on Persia are familiar to those who know these countries, has not that intimate and personal knowledge of Baluchistan, Makran, Afghanistan, Persia, Afghan Turkistan, the Central Asian Khanates, the Pamirs and the Tibetan plateau which Sir Thomas Holdich has acquired in years of survey and delimitation work on the Frontiers of India. After reading through the multiplicity of routes treated of in this volume, I feel how difficult it is to select any one in preference to the others. Still, it is Sir Thomas Holdich himself who impresses upon us the fact that the great lines of communication in these lands are immemorial. Nature created them in æons long past, and man must abide by them. And yet that is not strictly accurate; for history itself can prove that the routes of the past are not in all cases the routes of the present. Where the armies of

Alexander and of the first Arab invader of Sind, Muhammad Kasim Sakifi, passed in their thousands across Makran, now little but desert is to be found. What is Sistan of to-day compared with the Sistan before the days of Taimuri-lang? Where are the cities of Merv, Herat, Ghuri and Ghazni? Of one even the traces are lost; and the other three are towns of no size or wealth. Monumental irrigation works exist only in outlines of their old selves. A Garstin or a Willcocks may once more make Mesopotamia one of the granaries of Asia; but I doubt if the Murghab or Helmand or Hari-rud will ever again rival their services of the past.

Thinking of the "Gates of India," it not unnaturally occurs to the mind that the very schemes that have been formulated—and in part executed—for the construction of railways from Europe to India would easily furnish material for a modest book. Books, however, nowadays are not given to modesty. They are much more apt to be monumental than modest. We are awaiting the day when the British Museum will appeal against the law which obliges it to find storage room for every book or booklet published in the British Isles. Bearing the plethora of books in mind, and realizing that only the wealthiest enthusiast could possibly get together an exhaustive library of literature on the lands in which the "Gates of India" are situated, I hold that Sir Thomas Holdich has conferred on the studious public a genuine boon in preparing this volume. The student, after reading it, can then extend his studies as he pleases. It is only from time to time that special interest is focussed on any one section—as, for instance, more recently on Tibet, owing to the Chinese occupation of Lhassa and the publication of Sir Francis Younghusband's authoritative book on "India and Tibet"; or on Persia, in consequence of the revolution which has substituted a Constitutional Government for an absolute monarchy among that degenerate people. In reference to that country at this juncture, Russia, Germany and Great Britain appear

each to watch with a jealous eye the actions of the others. Colonel Liakhoff has been a sore trial to Professor E. G. Browne and his party, while more recently the declaration of the British Government that the trade-routes of Southern Persia must be kept open and in order has convinced Germany that the annexation of Southern Persia by Great Britain is imminent, as Southern Persia dominates the Shat-el-Arab. I do not wonder that Germany is on the *qui vive*. There are a good many Britons still who cherish a vision of an all-British line from Baghdad to Koweit. The disorder on the southern trade-routes of Persia has increased the traffic on the Nushki-Sistan route. The Government of India should, I think, at once push on that line from Nushki into Sistan, and continue it, if possible, via Kirman and Yazd to Ispahan. Sir Thomas Holdich traces the old caravan and military route from Zarinje, north of the Helmand to Kala-Bist, and so on to its junction with the Herat-Kandahar route, near Kushk-i-nākhud, and warns the Indian Government that it had better keep an eye on both. A railway from Nushki to Nasratabad will not be an ineffective strategical reply to any menace from the side of Sistan.

I have but one or two remarks to add, and I make them in the interests of philosophical and chronological exactitude. Over and over again *kāfila* (caravan) is spelt *khafila*. Now the Arabic original is ﻗafilة. If Sir Thomas Holdich wishes to be very Hunterian, I believe he would write "Qafila" or "Kafila." Under any circumstances *kh*, the accepted transliteration of ﺗ is wrong. Again, on pp. 213, 214, Bāmiān is spelt "Bamain," and the error is even carried into the index. Indexes are usually drawn up by persons who are not competent to correct little-known names of places. On p. 194 the date of the Russo-Afghan Boundary Commission is given as 1883-85. It should be "1884-86." In the date "1882," given at the bottom of p. 212, there must be some error. The British Army of Occupation evacuated Kandahar in May, 1881, and

the Afghan Boundary did not leave India till September, 1884. Probably 1885 should be substituted for 1882. Sir Thomas Holdich's book should take its place in Asiatic literature as a very useful and instructive work of reference. If it runs into a second edition, however, I trust that errors in date and such solecisms as "khafila" will disappear.—A. C. YATE.

P.S.—Since this review was written, the Anglo-Russian project for constructing a railway from Russia viâ Baku, Teheran, and Ispahan to Quetta has been made public. Under existing conditions such a project is welcome for reasons which have been clearly stated in the *Times* of November 17 and 18, 1910. What is not noticed in the *Times* is the influence that will be exercised on the Nushki-Sistan section of this railway by the McMahon boundary settlement from New Chaman to Kuh-i-Malik-Siyah. If the reader will compare the map in Curzon's "Persia" (1891) with that in Holdich's "Gates of India," he will realize the import of the territorial concession made to the Amir by the Baluch-Afghan Boundary Commission of 1895-96. The inability to use the Helmand water is alone a grave drawback. We shall hear more of this when the work of construction begins.—A. C. Y.

13. *The Native States of India*, by SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, K.C.S.I. It is not without consideration that the author has reissued this revised edition of "The Protected Princes of India" under a different name. He wishes to deal almost solely with the principalities and dependencies which lie within British India, thus excluding Baluchistan, Nepal, and the Shan States. He gives an account of how these States, whatever may be their tie to the paramount Power, came under the British influence, whether by treaty, conquest, or voluntary submission, and writes a very philosophical history of the policy of the British in regard to them, which has varied very considerably from time to time in inverse ratio to our or their strength. The chapter on "The

Treaty Map of India" is, on this theme, both instructive and romantic. Up to 1813, the East India Company remained within its "ring fence of its own territorial acquisitions." After that this policy was "proved by experience to be both impolitic and cowardly." After the Mutiny the Crown stood forth "the unquestioned ruler in all India," and guidance was regarded as preferable to annexation. The relations between the Native States and the British Raj are the results of these three periods. The book we peruse describes the different epochs in admirable English, the historical sequence is excellent, and the political description all that can be desired. The "price of union" is handled delicately, and the "obligations for the common defence" is placed clearly before the reader. The "obligations to the Crown" deals with the awkward matter of the questions of succession, which has been so difficult in the past, but now seems to have crystallised into the broad rule that the British Government "has the right and duty of intervention to settle disputed successions." The last chapter of the book—"The Tie which Unites"—may be recommended to the student of international law, the rest of the book to the lover of Anglo-India and of Indian history.—A. F. S.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

14. *Lion and Dragon in Northern China.* With map and illustrations. By R. F. JOHNSTON, M.A. (Oxon), F.R.G.S.; District Officer; Magistrate, Wei-hai-wei; formerly Private Secretary to the Governor of Hong Kong, etc.; author of "Peking to Mandalay." This is a book that not only gives one pleasure, but does one good to read. Informative, educative, liberal in its views, and comprehensive in the broadest sense, it is in every way instructive and convincing. Yet all the time there is a general interest running through its pages, and a broad, human sympathy for its subject that makes it specially attractive. Although in a strict sense Mr. Johnston professedly deals only with the customs and

institutions of that lately leased locality Wei-hai-wei, over which the British lion wags and occasionally flicks his lordly tail, there is so strong a resemblance, and in many cases an identicity, between these and those of the Empire in general, that for all practical purposes it may be looked upon as a work on China; for Wei-hai-wei, as he himself points out, is in many respects *a fine miniature of that country*, and gives us probably a clearer and truer insight into the character and life of the Chinese race than we should gain from any superficial survey of China as a whole. This, if not exactly obvious, is certainly intelligible. In any case, or at any rate,

“All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is and God the soul”;

and it is in this broad human spirit that Mr. Johnston has handled the people and customs of the great Yellow Dragon. It is the god, or the good, in the national mind, that he describes for us, and describes well; and although, in spite of Popes' dictum, he has the presumption to scan their gods—from Kuan Ti the great War Lord and Ts'ai Sh'en, God of Wealth, to those comparatively small fry, Ch'eng Huang, the City God, and T'u Ti, the Village Deity—still, it is a study of the Chinaman pure and simple, as he stands revealed in all the nudity of his own native garb, that he gives us first hand. This adds in every way to the value of his book. He has studied the men, the women, and last, but not least, the children themselves. This alone shows that he knows himself as well or as nearly as it is possible for any human being to sound his own depths and wade his own shallows. From this to knowing others is but a step. This explains why he got into touch with the simple, yet credulous, folk of Wei-hai-wei. He has gone the right way to work. He commenced at the beginning—*i.e.*, with the children. The child is certainly father to the man, and although it may not be so poetical or Wordsworthian to say so, the daughter is just as positively mother to the

woman. Here we have in a nutshell the secret of his success, for the royal roadway to Chinese, negro, even the most savage, hearts—all hearts, in fact—lies through their children. Win them and understand them, and you win and understand the people. Of all aspects of sympathy, it is the deepest and widest.

Hence the closeness of Mr. Johnston's touch with these Wei-hai-weians. Hence the clear and concise insight he has got of their temperament and character. He has taken them as he found them, the rough with the smooth, the good with the bad, the tall with the short, and the broad with the narrow. He has gone direct to the book of Nature with a broad and open mind, free from dogmas, prejudices, preconceived ideas, and bigotry; also with a high purpose and a good motive, and the end or result justifies the means. There is nothing cramped or sordid about his book, nothing small or mean or petty. It has no narrow denominational views, no sectarian limitations. There is no rigidity or poker-like inflexibility about either its impressions or its statements. His facts and arguments are plainly stated, and clearly and logically worked out. All these are on the largest, the broadest, and deepest of lines. Mr. Johnston is not merely a patient and diligent investigator, but he is a keen and longsighted observer, with all his sense of vision and bearing on the *qui vive*. But he takes a depreciatedly rather than an appreciative view of the sympathetic administrator of coloured races. Such a man does not become so much de-occidentalized—a moral and intellectual Eurasian, to use his own words—as humanized. Such a man is, in reality, a true humanitarian and citizen of the world. It is only your rabid, fire-eating, narrowminded Westerner, who plumes himself on the whiteness of his skin and soul (for this, according to him, is the distinctive hall-mark between East and West) that would so stigmatize the man who towers above him, both morally and intellectually, as that eternal abode of snow, the majestic Himalaya, towers above the sunbaked plains of India. To

follow Mr. Johnston through all the various phases of his luminous book is, of course, impossible. Packed with information as the cells of a beehive are stored with honey, it would be difficult to know where to begin, and where to end. The different texts—ready-made fuses as they are—to launch us into a variety of theses cannot, unfortunately, be dealt with in a limited review; but there are just a few observations one is compelled to make.

Obviously, Mr. Johnston's outlook on China and things Chinese is not that of the missionary. It soars above, beyond, and outside this, as the flight of the kingly eagle above that of the homely but quarrelsome little sparrow. It is as free as the winds of heaven, and surveys mankind from China to Peru with the liberality of the unshackled freeman who, unlike the sectarian, is a slave to creed and dogma. It looks at everything with the all-seeing eye of universal Nature, and not through the coloured monocle of Christian and Western civilization. But, as it should do, it looks on things with the eye of a critic; the winnower who winnows the chaff and sifts it from the grain with the acumen of the thinker, the care of the analyst, and the reflection of the judge. In this broad sense every author should be a critic, but especially those who make it their business to investigate the psychology of races outside their own. This Mr. Johnston has done and done well, with the consequence that he has given us one of the truest pictures and estimates of the Chinese as they are that has fallen from a Western pen. True, his book is an ethnological, rather than a political, study; but, even then, just as causes and effects are inevitably linked together, so the social, the religious, the political, and indeed all the various units of human sociology stand in the closest degree of kinship to each other.

Only naturally he recognizes and estimates the awakening and Westernizing of the East at its proper valuation and in its true colours. He shows the weaknesses and faults of the Chinese as few men do, but he also knows

their virtues and their strength. He sees the advantages, but he likewise sees the disadvantages, which are likely to accrue from this Westernizing. He sees, as no strait-laced sectarian can see, that to uproot the foundations of ancestral veneration and filial piety, also the splendidly solid morality of that great world sage and humanist Confucius, would be to turn China upside down, to shatter the very bed-rock upon which she stands—in one word, ruin. For he sees—as it is only given to those who have the insight of human sympathy to see—that, with all its evils, there are virtues in the co-operative family system of the East that even the individualism of Western civilization can never improve on or replace. This, in fact, is a book that every European politician or statesman should read with care and attention, if he would understand aright the Eastern, but especially the Chinese, problem.—ARTHUR G. LEONARD.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON.

15. *Uganda for a Holiday*, by SIR FREDERICK TREVES, BART., G.C.V.O., C.B., LL.D., Sergeant-Surgeon to H.M. the King, Surgeon-in-Ordinary to H.M. Queen Alexandra; author of "The Other Side of the Lantern," "The Cradle of the Deep," etc. With seventy-two illustrations from photographs by the author and a map. In the opening sentence of his last delightful book on Uganda Sir Frederick Treves strikes the keynote of a very important question. The happy vagueness in the minds of the $\delta\imath\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ is not with regard to Uganda alone, nor, indeed, for the matter of that, does it apply to Africa in particular, but rather to the world in general. Leaving Orientals out of the question, even the much-vaunted European of the ordinary or commonplace variety, knows little or nothing of localities that lie beyond or outside his own much-betrodden dungheap. Geography *par excellence* is the most inclusive and comprehensive of all sciences, for, as the history and record of the earth, and all that is thereon and

therein, it embraces and includes every other science under the sun. Yet of all branches of human knowledge it is the most imperfect and incomplete. This in itself shows how still very infantile is the sum total of our scientific achievements. It is true we have got a trifle beyond the position of Mat Prior's geographers, who,

"On pathless downs,
Place elephants for want of towns."

But, after all, we have not got very far. It is curious how widespread this ignorance of geography is. To go back just a bit, even so well read and literary a person as Charles Lamb confesses his deficiency in this direction. A map of old Ortelini is to him as authentic as Arrowsmith. As to whereabouts Africa merges into Asia, or whether Ethiopia lie in one or other of these great divisions, he knows not. This is certainly typical of the average scholar. What, then, about the man in the street and those waifs and strays of humanity who loiter among the bylanes and hedgerows?

Yet, retrogressive as it may appear, we must once more retire from both flanks on the past. This time, however, to learn from one Martin Scriblerus (*alias* Dr. John Arbuthnot), who invented, as an object lesson for the education of his son, a set of *geographical garments*, surmounted by a French hat, with an African feather. Here, it seems to me, is a golden idea! an idea not only worthy of Sartor Resartus himself, but as the idea of the century, of the Nöbel prize award for general utility. Not only would atlas coats, mapped trousers, and charted vests teach the young idea of Europe how to shoot—rapids and other physical objects—but, according to the golden key of Baconian philosophy—utilitarian as it is—they would put money into the pockets of fashion mongers and Court tailors, as well as caterers for carnivals and fancy-dress balls. Indeed, there would be no limit to their utility, and the Board of Education might well take a wrinkle from so obviously practical an idea.

But we must not forget Sir Frederick Treves, upon whom the mantle of those eminent Court physicians, Drs. Garth and Arbuthnot, and the poetical, but slightly fantastical, physiologist, Erasmus Darwin, seems to have fallen. It is not merely that he writes well and describes fluently, that his acumen is deep, his judgment sound, his intellect keen, and his observation comprehensive ; but it is that he writes without any effort, and with an ease and grace that comes natural to him. In his case writing is not an art, but an inherited tendency, from beginning to end he sustains the interest of his subject without a break or a hitch. There is not a dull page in the whole book. He takes his reader along with him as if he were all the time in his own company—from the Lyons' mail to the steamship *Good Hope*, past that fag-end of the world, Aden, to the sea-gate of Mombasa, along the Uganda Railway, across the Red Desert and the Great Rift Valley, around the great Lake Victoria Nyanza, past the city of the Seven Hills, to the source of the historic river that for so many ages was a mystery to the world. His descriptions of the places he visits and the scenes he sees are real and vivid word-pictures—that of the fever dance, the apotheosis of hectic, especially realistic and picturesque ; and the chapter on sleeping sickness, that deadliest of all African scourges—as it would be in expert hands like his, although scientific and to the point, is written so that he who runs may read. Obviously, Sir Frederick Treves is a black swan, one of those rare birds in the art and science of thinking. But he has not mistaken his profession. A great surgeon, he is also a great diagnoser of words; one of those dual-built egos who can act and think as well, that the world now and then turns out. Of the same type as Alexander, Caesar, Babar, Gustavus Adolphus, and Frederick the Great, he is a conqueror in the realms of science, and a maker in the world of letters.

—ARTHUR G. LEONARD.

T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

16. *Memories of Rugby and India*, by SIR ALEXANDER T. ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. Edited by CONSTANCE LADY ARBUTHNOT. With sixteen illustrations. Memories—those stolen fires from the furnaces of the past—

“Those peerless flowers which in the rudest wind
Never grow sere,
When rooted in the garden of the mind,”

as Tennyson calls them—are always interesting. But when they recall the personality and features of one who has been, but is now no more, when they are the memories of a great, a good, a strong man, such as Sir Alexander Arbuthnot was, they are doubly so. There is in them, as there was in the man himself, an individuality that marks him down and distinguishes him from those around him, just as a planet stands out from all the stars as either nearer or greater, therefore a brighter being that so much the more absorbs our attention.

To have been a pupil to the great and good Dr. Arnold at Rugby was in itself a great distinction—an influence for good that unquestionably left its mark both on the boy and man Arbuthnot. But pardonable though it may be, and, after making every allowance for the fidelity of his youthful loyalty, it is going just a bit too far to call Dr. Arnold the greatest man who has lived and died in the nineteenth century.

Covering, as these Memories do, a period that stretches over eight decades, fifty-five years of which—a lifetime in itself—were spent in the public service, and the greater part of these in India, it goes without saying that Sir Alexander met all sorts and conditions of men, from distinguished statesmen down to members of local vestries. Observant and a bit of a raconteur in a quiet and unobtrusive, but none the less humorous and effective, way, his book is packed with reminiscences and good stories. Several of the latter are worth recounting, but unfortunately we have only room for two.

"At the Corkran's house at Ditton a footman one day announced, 'The Prophet of the Tombs.' Charles Corkran, who was a choleric sort of man, jumped up and said loudly, 'Who is this, you —?' and in walked the Provost of Tuam, a very dignified Irish ecclesiastic, whose strange appellation had proved a stumbling-block to the English footman."

When at Coonor in Madras, a favourite walk of his was to a waterfall, to get to which a marshy bit of ground infested with leeches had to be traversed. On one occasion he had taken some of his friends to see it, when one of the party—an impulsive lady—looking round at the beautiful spot, suddenly exclaimed, "Is this heaven, or"—after a short pause, during which she became suddenly aware that a leech had attacked her—"or the other place?"

Yet in a big sense, either literary or political, these Memoirs are, after all, very disappointing. They do not fulfil the expectations or the promise that the name, fame, and position of the writer would justify one in forming. Great-grandnephew to John Arbuthnot, the friend and brother wit of Swift, Pope, Gay, and Prior, he inherited his keen Toryism and humanity, also his taste for learning and literature, but neither his pungency of wit nor his special aptitude for the latter. In the same way, strong man as he was, and, although he passed the best part of his life in India, he has little of any value to tell us about it. Indeed, so far as its people are concerned, beyond two or three bare allusions to a special friend or two, they are absolutely *non est*. They do not seem to have existed or have had anything to do with his life. "A truer, finer specimen of the best type of Indian civilian could scarcely be found," is the Bishop of St. Alban's opinion of him. Yet how typically English and insular. How little like those predecessors of his, Elphinstone, Munro, and Malcolm (who was Boy Malcolm even when an old man), whose sympathies with the people were so very cordial and sincere.—ARTHUR G. LEONARD.

T. FISHER UNWIN ; LONDON.

17. *Bombay in the Making*, by PHIROZE B. M. MALABARI. This learned book deals with the history of the growth of judicial institutions from 1661 to 1726 in the "poor little island," as Pepys scornfully termed Bombay. Its acquisition by the English as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza put it on a different footing from all our other Indian dependencies, and was at first the cause of serious difficulties with the struggling East India Company, whose chief headquarters were then at the now decayed emporium, Surat. Bombay at its acquisition (Lord Clarendon thought it was "within a little distance from Brazil") was not a celebrated, or, indeed, a very important place (as late as 1728 Malabar Hill was let annually for Rs. 130!), and the value of the harbour was not realized by the English, although the Portuguese Governor wrote to Lisbon on the arrival of the rival nation in 1665 that "India will be lost the same day in which the English nation is settled at Bombay." Taken over, however, it was by Humphrey Cooke, the first Governor, who ruled for but a few years, when he was disgraced for very evident fraud and peculation. English law had been introduced with the cession of the island, but it was long before the rights of the Portuguese and native inhabitants could be put on any satisfactory basis at all, and the author diligently points out the lawsuits and *tracasseries* of the earliest times. The Crown ceded Bombay to the East India Company in 1667, and the worthy Sir George Oxenden had the difficult task of settling its government, and on his death, two years later, he was succeeded by Gerald Aungier, the real founder of the prosperity of Bombay. Of this Governor Mr. Malabari gives a chapter of panegyric, no doubt well merited; for it was he who "brought the face of Justice to be unveiled which before lay hid in a single person's breast, who distributed her favours according to the Governor's direction." From this foundation of the judicial system the author takes us

into the tangled skein of the administration itself, he shows how "Judge Nicolls hath behaved himself so ill" and many other difficulties, for Bombay was singularly unhappy in its early officials. "The *first* Governor . . . was dismissed for fraud and embezzlement, the *first* Deputy-Governor . . . was found guilty of drunkenness and gross profanity, and was sent home ; and the *first* Judge . . . was suspended for wilful disobedience to his superiors. He has much to say also about the drastic treatment of "interlopers," the difficulties of land tenure, the savagery (and perhaps on this head too much is said, for was not all colonial justice at the time barbarous?) of the times, and the chief lawsuits of Bombay. Nor does he forget to tell about its decadence under Sir John Child, and Keigwin's rebellion, and many other important, if half-forgotten, topics of the past. Altogether he has woven carefully studied materials into a book, which is interesting and, while verbose, attractive, and yet of very considerable historical value. The Governor of Bombay contributes a short but excellent introduction.—A. F. S.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE ; LONDON.

18. *The Old Syriac Gospels*, by AGNES SMITH LEWIS. This new work from the unwearying pen of Mrs. Lewis, otherwise designated "Da-Mépharreshe," consists of the text of the Sinai (or Syro-Antiochene) Palimpsest ; and it includes the latest additions and emendations, with the variants of the Curetonian text, corroborations from many other manuscripts, and a list of quotations from ancient authors. The text, together with the section containing the quotations from the Syriac Fathers, occupies 334 pages, while the introductory sections, including the three Appendixes, occupies 78 pages—in all 412 pages quarto. All students of the Semitic languages are by this time familiar with the story of the enthusiastic enterprise of the two distinguished ladies and their repeated visits during a series of years past to the Convent of

St. Katherine in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Undaunted amidst the perils and privations of these repeated pilgrimages, they have prosecuted their self-appointed task at the cost of sacrifices to themselves, which are such as mark them out for learning, devotion, and self-forgetfulness from all the ladies of their time. Apart from their unexampled achievements, the degree of literary attainment requisite as qualifications for such achievements is, even of itself alone, incalculable. They have laid Biblical scholars and the whole Christian Church under permanent obligation. The nature and the *raison d'être* of the enterprise embodied in the present volume, together with the *modus operandi* of the execution of it, are set forth and developed with admirable detail in the Introduction—in which division of the work honour is rendered to whom honour is due—to Dr. Rendel Harris and others who have toiled in this same department of Christian labour, and have kept in touch with this noble enterprise. To what we said respecting the type-setting, proof-reading, and general execution of the work in our notices of the previous issues of this unique undertaking we have nothing now to add ; it is all of a piece with other works printed at the same press and issued from the same house. Mrs. Lewis is singularly fortunate in her publishers. The diligence and vigilance manifest in the whole production, alike of editress and printers, must have been ceaseless from the commencement to the close. Facsimiles of some of the original leaves have here been photographed, and the broken, frayed, and soiled condition of those leaves help, however inadequately, to impress the student with a sense of the difficulty which must constantly beset the transcriber. But, every page is simply packed with honest work. There is a painstaking accuracy which is beyond all praise visible throughout, and the printing is a model of how such work ought to be done ; for any enterprise of this nature the prime qualification is a reverent spirit, and the next is a dread of inaccuracy. These essential qualities Mrs. Lewis evidently possesses.

In the result we have the Four Gospels in Syriac, accompanied throughout by innumerable footnotes in neat Latin, with abundant references to authors and to codices. Henceforth the Semitic student will find himself occupying a higher plane than any that has been occupied by his predecessors in the department of Bible-work. We are more and more impressed with the debt of gratitude due from all Biblical scholars and from the Christian Church at large to this erudite and devoted lady and her sister.—B.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

A Geography of India: Physical, Political, and Commercial, by GEORGE PATTERSON, late Professor of History and Political Economy in the Madras Christian College, and Fellow-Examiner of the University of Madras (London : The Christian Literature Society for India). This book, in substance and style of treatment, is an enlargement of the chapter on India in the author's "Handbook of Geography for Indian Schools"; but many subjects which it was impossible to touch upon there are amply dealt with in this volume. It is accompanied with excellent maps and illustrations, and is exceedingly well printed.

Burma through the Centuries; being a short account of the leading races of Burma, of their origin, and of their struggles for supremacy throughout past centuries; also of the three Burmese wars, and of the annexation of the country by the British Government, by JOHN STUART, with fifteen illustrations (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Limited). This is a handy little volume, dealing very concisely with the Burmese race. The author points out how little even the Burmese themselves know of the history of Burma. Books dealing on this question are very rare. This is an ideal book for a business man, who at a glance can obtain information, which has been compressed in order that such men of business, or travellers, or students, can quickly read up the information they require.

Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India, by VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (retired); second edition, revised and

enlarged (Oxford : At the Clarendon Press). Although the plan of this work is maintained unchanged, and Chapters VI. and VII., containing the legends, have been reprinted without material emendation, this edition is substantially a new work. The versions of the inscriptions have been repeatedly compared word by word with the texts, and revised throughout. The recent discovery of Sârnâth pillar adds a new edict to those previously known, and clears up the interpretations of the Sâuchi and Kausambi edicts, which were misunderstood when the first edition of this book was published. A bibliographical note and map have been inserted.

A History of India : Part I.—“The Pre-Musulman Period,” by K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., with illustrations and maps (London, Bombay, and Calcutta : Longmans, Green and Co.). This volume is intended for the use of pupils in the higher forms of secondary or high schools. It is intended to meet the requirements of the matriculation examination of the Indian Universities, and of the school-leaving certificate examination of Madras and other presidencies and provinces. The aim of the author has been to give in a simple and direct narrative an up-to-date account of the history of ancient India, political and social, the people as well as of the kingdoms and dynasties ; also to trace the influence, where possible, of environments generally, and of geographical conditions especially, on the course of history ; to trace the growth of movements and ideas, and to show the continuity of Indian history; and the relation of cause and effect and other cognate subjects.

Modern Arabic Stories, Ballads, Proverbs, and Idioms, collected and translated by COLONEL A. O. GREEN, P.S.C., Parts I. and II. (Oxford : At the Clarendon Press). The object of these well-printed volumes was intended as an “Arabic Reader” for those who were desirous of becoming acquainted with the Arabic language as spoken in Cairo and the neighbouring districts, and for many years past has

been used as the textbook for the local Arabic examinations for officers and men of the army of occupation in Egypt.

Indian Folk-Tales; being side-lights on village life in Bilaspore, Central Provinces, by E. M. GORDON (London: Elliot Stock). The observations in this work have been confined to the western portion of the Bilaspore district of the Central Provinces of India—the Mungeli Tehsil. The author, during a residence of some sixteen years, acquired the dialect of the people, and also gathered at first hand the material which he gives us in the volume.

The Brahui Language: Part I.—“Introduction and Grammar,” by DENYS DE S. BRAY, I.C.S. (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing). The author in this work analyzes the language spoken in and round Kalat, the capital of the Khanate, and the meeting-place of Sarawan and Jhalawan. This language is regarded by most Brahuis as preserving the purest form of their speech. Passing reference is made to the more important divergences between the Sarawan and Jhalawan branches of the language, but the author has not gone aside into the by-paths of dialectical variants.

From Zoroaster to Christ: An autobiographical sketch of the Rev. Dhanjibhai Nauroji, the first modern convert to Christianity from the Zoroastrian religion, with introduction by the REV. D. MACKICHAN, D.D., LL.D. (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier). This is a very interesting story dealing with the conversion of the Rev. Dhanjibhai Nauroji, the whole being a collection of reminiscences culled from the memories of a long and notable life. The intention of the book is to fulfil the higher purpose of deepening the interest of Christianity.

Viscount Morley and Indian Reform, by E. MAJOR (London: James Nisbet and Co., Limited). A well-written book in three parts, containing a sketch of the man and the measure, the passing of the Indian Act, and day by day in India.

Half the Battle in Burmese: A Manual of the Spoken Language, by R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S. Burma (London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press). A very useful vade-mecum for students who require some knowledge of the Burmese language.

Preaching, by F. E. CARTER, M.A. (London : Longmans, Green and Co.). This volume deals at some length on the art of preaching in its various forms.

Children of India, by JANET HARVEY KELMAN, with eight coloured illustrations ; *Children of China*, by COLIN CAMPBELL BROWN, with eight illustrations (Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier). These two well-printed little volumes, containing very interesting and instructive reading, are well illustrated, and suitable for presentation to children.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications : *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) ;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.) ;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.) ;—*The Canadian Gazette* (London) ;—*United Empire* (The Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London) ;—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.) ;—*The Cornhill Magazine* ; *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road) ;—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1910 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) ;—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto) ;—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London) ;—*The First Principles of the Jain Philosophy*, compiled and published by Hirāchānd Līlādhar Jhaverī, with an introduction by L. D. Barnett, M.A., LITT.D. ;—*Manual of Palestinian Arabic for*

Self-Instruction, by H. H. Spoer, M.A., PH.D. (New York University), B.D. (Rutger's College), and E. Nasrallah Haddad (London : Messrs. Luzac and Co.) ;—*The Suffixes “-mant” and “-vant” in Sanskrit and Avestan*, by Harold H. Bender, PH.D. (Baltimore : J. H. Furst Company) ;—*Recent Indian Finance*, by D. E. Wacha (Madras : Natesan and Co.) ;—*Glym̄pses of the Orient To-day*, by St. Nihal Singh (Madras : Natesan and Co.) ;—*Elchanan : The Legend of a Jewish Pope*, by George H. Händler (London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, by Dr. Phil. u. theolog. Eduard König (Leipzig : Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Theodor Weicher) ;—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1909-10* (Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press, 1910) ;—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1909-10* (Peshwar Government Press, North-West Frontier Province) ;—*Address of the Dewan of Mysore to the Dasara Representative Assembly, October 15, 1910* (Mysore : Printed at the Government Branch Press) ;—*Tyagayyar, the Greatest Musical Composer of Southern India : A Study*, by C. Tirumalayya Naidu, M.R.A.S. (Madras : South Indian Press).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The Broadstone of Empire*, by Sir Charles Bruce, vols. i. and ii. (London : Macmillan and Co., Limited) ;—*The Glory of the Shia World*, by Major P. M. Sykes and Ahmad Din Khan (London : Macmillan and Co., Limited) ;—*The Awakening of India*, by J. Ramsay Macdonald (London : Hodder and Stoughton) ;—*Changing China*, by Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil (London : J. Nisbet and Co.) ;—*Islam in China*, by Marshall Broomhall (London : China Inland Mission and Morgan and Scott) ;—*Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, by F. C. Hodgson, M.A. (London : George Allen and Sons) ;—*Islam Lands : Nubia, the Sudan, Tunisia, and Algeria*, by Michael Myers Shoemaker (London : G. P. Putnams Sons) ;—*Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*,

vol. i., collected and translated by H. Parker (London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*Selections from the Koran*, compiled and translated from the original Arabic by Mirza Abdul-Fazl (Allahabad : G. A. Asghar and Co.) ;—*The Picture of Dorian Gray*, by Oscar Wilde (Paris : Charles Carrington ; London : Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Limited) ;—*Behind the Scenes in Peking*, by Mary Hooker (London : John Murray) ;—*India and Tibet*, by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I.E. (London : John Murray) ;—*The Pharaoh and the Priest*, by J. Curtin (London : Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited) ;—*Gleanings from Fifty Years in China*, by the late Archibald Little, revised by Mrs. Little (London : Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited) ;—*Chota Nagpore*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, I.C.S., F.R.G.S., with an introduction by the Right Hon. the Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I. (London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*The Incas of Peru*, by Sir Clements R. Markham (London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, by Hosea Ballou Morse (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*Rare Days in Japan*, by G. T. Ladd (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*Indian Unrest*, by Valentine Chirol ;—*Overland to India*, by Sven Hedin, in 2 vols. (London : Macmillan and Co., Limited) ;—*The Mistress of Shenstone*, by Florence L. Barclay (New York and London : G. P. Putnams Sons).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—The King has intimated that he will visit India, accompanied by the Queen, to hold the Coronation Durbar at Delhi on January 1, 1912. This news has been received with great enthusiasm. Lord Hardinge has given his assurance that His Majesty's visit will be cordially welcomed.

Lord and Lady Minto left Simla on November 2 amid an influential gathering, which had assembled to say goodbye to the Viceroy. He proceeded to Patiala, and on November 4 installed the Maharaja. In a speech Lord Minto dwelt on the hereditary connection of the Maharaja's house with Patiala and the great responsibilities of the Maharaja. The Maharaja, in the course of a most cordial reply, recalled the traditional loyalty of the State, and paid a handsome tribute to Lord Minto's administration and the splendid work of Lady Minto among the women of India. On November 10 Lord Minto laid the foundation-stone of the Proclamation Pillar at Allahabad, on the site where Lord Canning read the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. In reply to an address, Lord Minto said that he valued above all else the appreciation of the princes and leaders of the people of India. On November 16 he reviewed a division of all arms, including over a thousand volunteers. On November 18 he received addresses of farewell from three Calcutta societies. Replying to an address from the Corporation His Excellency said he rejoiced that the Calcutta Improvement Bill was in a fair way to become law. He

left Calcutta on November 23, and Bombay on the 25th of that month, and reached London on December 12.

Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, the new Viceroy of India, accompanied by Lady Hardinge, left London on November 3 on his way to India. He arrived at Bombay on November 18, and received a cordial welcome. He reached Calcutta on November 21, where he was received in state by Sir Edward Baker, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Lord Morley has resigned his post as Secretary of State for India, which post has been filled by Lord Crewe.

The German Crown Prince and Princess arrived in Bombay on November 2. He will make a stay in India until the middle of February, during which time he will visit Hyderabad, Jaipore, Agra, and Delhi, and then go on to the frontier. He will subsequently pay a visit to the Exhibition at Allahabad.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Just before leaving India Lord Minto had the pleasure of informing His Highness, Sir Prabhu Naryen Singh, that the Secretary of State had accepted the proposals made by the Government of India whereby he and his successors will be given a defined and permanent status amongst the ruling chiefs of India. He has been created the Maharaja of Benares, and is now admitted in fact, as well as honorifically, within the circle of the great ruling chiefs. This State thus constituted has an area of 887 square miles, and a population of 362,000. The administration will be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the Lieutenant-Governor.

INDIA FRONTIER.—An agreement has been reached by the Joint Anglo-Afghan Boundary Commission. It provides that all outlaws shall be removed to a distance of at least fifty miles from the frontier, with the object of preventing raids. In accordance with the terms of this agreement, outlaws from Afghanistan resident in British territory have been ordered beyond the fifty-mile limit, and it is hoped that the Afghan officials will immediately take similar steps with regard to the outlaws on their side of the border.

BURMA: SHAN STATES.—The Burma Government records with satisfaction that peace prevailed throughout the Shan States during the past year. The Southern States have suffered considerably in the past from lack of proper communications, and much good is expected to result from the railway, which was commenced during the year. The Northern Shan States bear witness to the severity of the anti-opium crusade in Yunnan. Friendly relations exist between British and Chinese officials.

Straits Settlements.—Mr. Arthur Robert Adams has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements, and Mr. John Bowen Elcum (Director of Education) an official member of the Council.

PERSIA.—Azad-el-Mulk, the Regent, died on September 22 at Teheran at the age of seventy-six, and Nazr-el-Mulk was appointed by the Mejliss to act as the Regent by forty votes against twenty-nine votes received by Mustavfi-ul-Mamalik the Premier.

In consequence of the insecurity of the trade-routes in Southern Persia Great Britain addressed a note to Persia demanding restoration of security on these routes. In the event of failure the British Government will take over and police these southern roads, and organize a local force commanded by officers of the Indian Army, and will also make a charge of 10 per cent. on the customs to cover the cost. The note also stated that, in case of failure to comply with its terms, Great Britain will take over the Bushire-Shiraz route all the way to Ispahan. A reply to this note was made by the Persian Government following the lines anticipated. It proposed that the surcharge of the customs foreshadowed in the British note should be made at once, and that the proceeds should be used by Persia for the purpose of restoring order on the trade routes.

On account of the riots reported from Shiraz, the Persian Government was warned that it would be held responsible for any injury done to British life or property there. One

hundred and sixty men and four guns were landed at Lingah from the cruiser *Fox* on October 27, 1910, by request of the Deputy Governor and the British Vice-Consul. On learning this the Persian Government demanded the British Minister to withdraw this force. The British Minister replied that the force would be withdrawn as soon as the state of order admitted of it. News received later stated that the Jewish quarter had been sacked by Kashgas, and the whole Jewish population, said to number 5,000, rendered destitute. The British force was later withdrawn from Lingah, as it was considered the danger no longer existed.

EGYPT AND SUDAN.—Mr. Robert Alexander, one of the English directors of the Suez Canal Company since 1884, has resigned his seat at the Conseil d'Administration, and Mr. Oswald Sanderson has been elected in his place.

A patrol was sent out under Colonel Asser to punish some recalcitrant chiefs. The force successfully attacked and occupied the Jebel, or mountain, on November 13. The force met with only a slight opposition, as the inhabitants fled. One native officer and one man were killed, and four men wounded. The enemy lost twenty.

SOUTH AFRICA.—H.H. the Duke of Connaught, accompanied by the Duchess, arrived on board the *Balmoral Castle* at Cape Town on October 31 on his Imperial mission, and was met by Lord Methuen, the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, and many other notables, including Lord and Lady Gladstone, General Botha, and other Ministers of the Union. On landing a most enthusiastic reception was given His Royal Highness by a distinguished gathering. A procession was formed, which escorted the Royal party to the City Hall through decorated streets lined with troops. Here the Duke was welcomed in an address by Sir Frederick Smith, the mayor, in which he said the Duke's arrival proclaimed the birth of a new era foretold by their great leaders. The Union would knit closer the many great interests of South

Africa, enabling her to take her place among the first of the world's greatest centres of industry. South Africa prayed for the strengthening of the hallowed ties binding the Colonies to the Mother-Country, and they sent the King a message of loyal and dutiful obedience. After lamenting the death of King Edward, the address recognized in the visit of the Duke of Connaught a further proof of the deep and constant interest of King George in the oversea dominions. The Duke, in his reply, desired to express his thanks on behalf of King George for the sentiments of loyalty and devotion conveyed in the address, and to assure the many thousands of the King's subjects—European, Asiatic, and African, in whose name the address had been presented—of His Majesty's unfailing interest in their welfare. He deplored the sad event which prevented the Heir Apparent from opening the Union Parliament, as it would have been a fitting culmination to the efforts of the statesmen and people of South Africa in the cause of unity and conciliation that the last stone of the edifice should be laid by the son of the Monarch whose name was associated for all time with the love of peace and hate of discord. Many other addresses were presented to the Duke by the chief municipalities, the Churches, the Indian and coloured communities, and various public bodies of Cape Colony. In these loyalty and welcome were expressed. The Duke opened the Selborne Dock at Simonstown on November 3.

On November 4 the Duke opened the Union Parliament. In his speech he assured the Assembly of the King's heartfelt gratitude for the sympathy extended by the whole of South Africa to himself and his family in the irreparable loss which they had sustained. He said that the King rejoiced in the knowledge that the Union of his South African dominions had made for the social and material progress of his people. It was His Majesty's earnest prayer that the Union so happily achieved may, under God's guidance, prove a lasting blessing to South Africa.

After declaring the Parliament open, the Duke read the following telegram from King George :

"Although it has been ordained that I should not be with you on this great occasion, my thoughts and prayers are to-day for South Africa, and for her lasting Union. I earnestly trust that for the sake of the people as a whole, your great country may, by God's blessing and under wise guidance and statesmanship, progress from year to year, ever increasing in wisdom, happiness, and prosperity."

The Duke sent a telegram to the King in which he said he had declared open the first Parliament of the Union of South Africa, and that he had read his telegram of good wishes, which was received with unbounded satisfaction, and that all classes of the community had received him with greatest cordiality.

The Duke visited many other places in South Africa, and was met with the same cordiality. He left Durban on his return to England on December 3.

The estimates of the Finance of South Africa were presented in the House of Assembly on November 17. They provide for an expenditure of £13,802,315 for the ten months ending March 31, 1911, an increase of £596,586 over the figures for the four Colonies for the corresponding period of 1909-10. The contribution to the Imperial Navy is set down at £86,600.

NYASSALAND.—Colonel Sir W. Manning, lately Commissioner in Somaliland, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Nyassaland Protectorate, in succession to Sir A. Sharpe.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.—The Commonwealth has proclaimed the acceptance on January 1, 1911, of Yass, Canberra, New South Wales, as the site of the capital of the Commonwealth.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Premier and Treasurer delivered his Budget speech on December 6. He presented a lucid statement of the finances of the State. The revenue for the last financial year amounted to £14,582,415, and

the expenditure to £14,230,386, leaving a surplus of £352,029.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Sir Newton Moore, the Premier of Western Australia, resigned in September, and Mr. Wilson, hitherto Minister of Works, succeeded him as Premier and Colonial Treasurer, while Mr. Daglish became Minister of Works.

QUEENSLAND.—The Government propose to complete the framework of the State railway-system by the extension of the Coastal Railway from Rockhampton to Cairns, and the construction of a new line from Charleville to Camooweal, connecting on the east with the extensions of the existing inland lines, and on the west with the Federal Transcontinental system. The work will occupy about ten years, and cost £6,000,000.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Colonial Customs' revenue for the quarter ending last September showed an unprecedented increase. It amounted to £8,000 over the corresponding quarter of last year, which also largely exceeded previous figures.

The exports of the Colony for the fiscal year ended June last show £200,000 excess over the previous year, and represent the largest export figures ever reached.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Captain J. G. Le Marchant (served in India 1861-62);—Captain H. A. Balderston (Somaliland 1902 and 1904);—Colonel Herbert Godfray, late of the Indian Army;—George Thomas Maitland, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Bengal Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas St. Quintin Clutterbuck, late Indian Army;—Captain Ernest Scott Jervis (Persian war, Indian Mutiny);—David Ross, late Indian Civil Service;—R. E. Master (entered Madras Civil Service 1845);—Lieutenant Bogle, of the Indian Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. Bramley Ridout (Bhootan expedition 1865);—George Lawrence (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel C. de Courcy Hamilton, c.b. (Lushai expedition 1889, Tirah expedition, South Africa);—Colonel Robert Nasmyth Macpherson;—Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Tyrrell (Indian Mutiny, Zulu war 1879);—Major James Stuart King, Indian Army;—Gilbert Wray Elliot, Bombay Civil Service;—Colonel Robert Purdy (Jowaki expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-80, Tirah expedition 1897-98);

—Kenneth Deighton, late Indian Educational Department;—Evans Charles Johnson, late Madras Civil Service;—Colonel Horace Montagu (Rajputana and Central India 1858-59);—Major-General William Edmund Warrant, R.E. (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General Daniel Mocatta (Sutlej campaign, Indian Mutiny, Punjab frontier 1879, Umbeyla 1863, Hazara 1868, Sowaki 1869);—Major-General H. T. Stuart, late Madras Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852);—Surgeon-Colonel F. H. Welch, Medical Staff (retired) (Hazara expedition 1888);—Alexander Cochrane Logan, late Indian Civil Service (Bombay);—Major Richard Eyre Goold-Adams (Afghanistan, relief of Kandahar, Egyptian campaign 1882);—Augustus Bythesea Todd, late Public Works Department, India;—Benjamin Trail Ffitch, C.I.E., late Director-in-Chief of the Indo-European Telegraph Department;—Colonel Edmund Ripon Ommanney (China war 1860, Cossiah and Jyntiah Hill expedition 1862, Bhootan expedition, Lashai and Duffia expeditions, Afghan war 1878-79, Burmese expedition 1885-86, Hazara Field Force 1888);—Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Hyde, late Indian Medical Service;—Captain George Henry Jackson, late Indian Army;—Colonel George Baker, C.B. (China campaign 1869, Afghan campaign 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Captain W. W. Fagan (Chitral 1895);—Theodore Cook, C.I.E., formerly Principal at the College of Science, Poona;—Sir Thomas Higham, K.C.I.E., late Public Works Department, India;—Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Richard Pennington (Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier campaign 1863, Afghan war 1879, Egyptian campaign 1882);—Colonel G. L. C. Merewether (Indian Mutiny 1858-59, Abyssinian expedition 1868);—Lieutenant-Colonel Rivers Mantell, late of the Indian Medical Service;—Captain E. F. Annand (North-West Frontier 1897, South African war 1899-1902);—Ernest G. Coutts, Public Works Department, India;—Colonel Charles Ingleby Harrison, R.E., late of the Public Works Department;—Arthur Cecil Hugh-Jones, formerly of the Public Works Department, India;—W. Richard Ebb Hamblin, formerly of the Indian Civil Service;—Surgeon Major-General James Sinclair (Abyssinia 1867-68);—Major-General C. P. Lane (Punjab campaign 1848, Indian Mutiny);—Mr. Walter Scott Seton-Karr, sometime Judge of the Bengal High Court;—Colonel Charles Evans Hallett, Indian Army (retired);—Edward Bovrie Peacock, Indian Civil Service (retired);—Lieutenant-General Sir Robert John Hay, K.C.B. (China 1860);—Colonel Llewellyn Wavell, Indian Army (retired) (Indian Mutiny, China war 1860, Afghan war 1879);—Captain H. F. N. Hopkins (India and South Africa);—Frederick Elias Jesson (Sikh campaign 1849 and Indian Mutiny);—A. Rogers, late Bombay Civil Service;—Lieutenant Geoffrey Smith (South African war);—J. E. Ellis, at one time Under-Secretary for India.

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RAILWAYS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

By H. F. B. LYNCH.

THIS paper arises out of one by Colonel Yate, read to the Central Asian Society a few weeks ago, and dealing with the scheme for a railway across Persia which has been put forward during recent months by an important syndicate in Russia. It became evident that this subject would require for its adequate consideration a survey of the railway system in the Middle East as a whole. That is the larger subject to which I wish to devote this paper. As I propose to place rigorous limits upon its length, in order to give plenty of time for the subsequent discussion, I shall assume, as in this assembly I have a right to assume, that my audience start with some knowledge of the subject. Let me, therefore, without further preface, come to close quarters with it.

After the close of Colonel Yate's admirable paper, I read to the Society extracts from the columns of two of the leading newspapers in Russia, showing that in the opinion of these influential organs the Trans-Persian railway scheme was already dead. It was pointed out that the two conditions imposed by the Russian Government upon their consent to support the scheme—namely, that it should involve no expense to the Russian Treasury and no loss to Russian trade in Persia—rendered the task of the

syndicate tantamount to that of squaring the circle. We have not heard much of the project since these pronouncements appeared in the Russian Press, but it is quite possible that it may be revived. If so, Colonel Yate will, so to speak, have cleared the air as to what the British attitude ought to be. Colonel Yate pointed out that it was essential for Great Britain to secure access to the line from at least two points. On the one side we must have access to it from the Black Sea, and on the other side from the Persian Gulf. Let us consider first the Black Sea proposition. As Colonel Yate so well showed us, the Black Sea terminus of the line would be the present terminus of the railway from the Black Sea to the Caspian —namely, Batum. Now Batum is at present, in violation of the Treaty of Berlin, a strongly fortified port, practically closed to international commerce by the Russian customs tariff. It is unlikely that Russia would consent to make Batum a free port, and we are therefore thrown back upon access to the railway on this side through Turkish territory. I think Colonel Yate advocated the building of a line by the Turkish Government from Trebizond on the Black Sea to Erzerum. This is one of the lines which the Turkish Government are anxious to see constructed as soon as possible. Its course is indicated in the map of projected railways issued by the Ministry of Public Works at Constantinople in 1909. It follows the carriage-road as far as Erzerum, and is taken thence along the caravan route through the Plain of Alashkert to the Persian frontier at Bayazid. From Bayazid this caravan route continues in a south-easterly direction to Tabriz and Tehran. There are no reasonable grounds for opposition on the part of Russia to a railway along this route to the great cities of Northern Persia. Such a railway would pursue what is at present the main avenue of communication for the trade of Western and Central Europe with the markets of Northern Persia; and the Persian section of this railway would presumably be built, under the provisions of the

Anglo-Russian Agreement, by Russian capital. One more word about this railway, and I should like to make it an emphatic word. Is it the object of Russia to close the markets of Northern Persia to international trade? If not, the sooner the other European Powers wake up to the realities of the situation the better. When I was in Erzerum about twelve years ago, the value of the imports from the Black Sea through that city into Northern Persia amounted to over half a million sterling a year, two-thirds of the trade being done by Great Britain. The figure has now sunk to £139,000, British markets being represented by a value of under £37,000. These are deplorable figures. This route was practically opened to international trade during the first half of last century by two Englishmen, each distinguished in his own sphere. One was our famous Ambassador in Constantinople, Stratford de Redcliffe, and the other was Consul Brant, who represented Great Britain for a long period at Erzerum. If anyone will take the trouble to read the voluminous correspondence between the Ambassador and the Consul, he will obtain some idea of the exertions which were required to develop this great trade route. Is it now to be closed? The Russian railway constructed during recent years as a branch from the main Batum-Baku line through Eriwan to Julfa and the Persian frontier is presumably accountable to some extent for the decline of the Trebizond route, and this factor must be met by securing access to the markets of Northern Persia over such a railway as Colonel Yate indicated and which I have thought it necessary to describe.

Let me now pass to the Persian Gulf side of the proposed railway. If I understood Colonel Yate rightly, his suggestion was that a branch should be built from Bundar Abbas to Kerman. Such a railway would, no doubt, possess the advantage of being either within or close to the so-called British sphere. But there are serious objections. Kerman is far removed from the centre of gravity

of British trade with Persia, which we should be better justified in placing at Isfahan. Bundar Abbas lies at the threshold of the Persian Gulf rather than inside the Gulf itself. Now the Gulf as a whole is a recognized sphere of British influence, and it is important, if our position in the Gulf is to be maintained, that the communications giving access to it should be under British control. If you sit still with folded arms while other Powers build railways to the Persian Gulf, your present position within those waters must become untenable. As a member of this Society has very wittily remarked, in face of railways debouching from the interior upon the Gulf, our present policy of treaties with the local potentates in the Gulf ports would, by itself, be likely to prove about as effective as trying to keep a flood out of a house by pinning a piece of red flannel over the keyhole of the front door. Obviously, I think, the course indicated for us to pursue in connection with railway policy in these regions is to endeavour at the right time to procure the construction by British capital of any railway or railways which may seem to be in consonance with the natural requirements of the countries which lie behind. So far as Persia is concerned, it is at the head of the Gulf and not at its threshold that these conditions would seem to obtain.

There can be little doubt that the proper starting-place for a railway from the Gulf into Persia, whether or not the Trans-Persian line be constructed, is the Karun Valley. British capital is already heavily engaged in that region, and we have developed its communications by placing steamers on the Karun, and by constructing a road 270 miles in length, with steel bridges, from Ahwaz to Isfahan, which the present speaker surveyed in 1889, and which was executed under his directions. Oil has recently been found in the valley of the Karun, and a pipe line is in course of construction at very great expense from the oil-field to Mohammerah. Moreover, the region offers facilities for the growing of cotton on a large scale, which

it is permissible to hope that British capitalists will see their way to develop. Quite recently there have appeared in the columns of the *Financial News* of London two articles dealing with the commercial possibilities of a railway from the Karun Valley to Isfahan.* The writer takes his railway through Dizful in a north-westerly direction in accordance with known surveys, and then deflects it north-eastwards to Isfahan, which is a somewhat circuitous method of communication with that city, but which possesses other advantages. It must not be assumed, however, that the direct line followed by the British road from Ahwaz to Isfahan is at all an impossible line for a railway to follow. What are termed "light railways" will, for a long time to come, be sufficient to meet the requirements of Persian traffic. If anyone would desire to realize what can be accomplished by a light railway in a mountainous country, I should recommend him to visit that city of delightful winter sojourn, Ragusa, on the sea-board of the Adriatic. The coast is over-towered by the precipitous mountains of the Herzegovina, and a narrow-gauge railway is seen zigzagging up their sides. There could be no more romantic journey than that which is offered by this railway from Ragusa to the capital of Bosnia, Sarajevo. When the gradients are too steep for ordinary progress, the engine, without stopping, takes up a cog-line, and lifts you easily from the bottom of a valley to the summit of a pass. I have said enough to show that there is a choice of routes from Ahwaz to the interior, but I think there can be no doubt that the Karun Valley is indicated alike by Nature and by political and commercial considerations as the proper avenue of approach by railway from the Persian Gulf to the tableland of Persia.

I now pass to the other great railway project in the Middle East, known as the Baghdad Railway, which is fathered by the Germans, and to which the proposed railway across Persia could scarcely fail to prove a rival.

* *Financial News*, February 1 and 6, 1911.

The Baghdad Railway is not one railway only, but a whole bunch of them. Here we are at once confronted by a very serious question. As I have pointed out in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review*, the object of these railways is mainly a strategical object. What is aimed at is the concentration of Turkish military resources upon the British position in Egypt and on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Turkey is being used as an instrument in the hands of Germany for the purpose of assailing the communications of the British Empire in highly vulnerable places. The humorous part of the proceeding lies in the proposal, seriously made, to build a railway of this nature out of revenues derived to a very great extent from increased taxes upon British goods imported into Turkey. Perhaps I had better read an extract from the new and revised edition of the principal German monograph on the Baghdad Railway. The author, Dr. Rohrbach, speaks with authority on the subject, having made four successive journeys to the regions which the railway is destined to cross. He describes its main object with admirable candour. It is to be the trump card in the hand of Germany in a possible conflict with the British Empire. This is how he develops his thesis :

"One factor, and one alone, will determine the possibility of a successful issue for Germany in such a conflict : whether or not we succeed in placing England in a perilous position. A direct attack upon England across the North Sea is out of the question ; the prospect of a German invasion of England is a fantastic dream. It is necessary to discover another combination in order to hit England in a vulnerable spot—and here we come to the point where the relationship of Germany to Turkey, and the conditions prevailing in Turkey, become of decisive importance for German foreign policy, based as it now is upon watchfulness in the direction of England. . . . England can be attacked and mortally wounded by land from Europe only in one

place : Egypt. The loss of Egypt would mean for England not only the end of her dominion over the Suez Canal and of her connections with India and the Far East, but would probably entail the loss also of her possessions in Central and East Africa. The conquest of Egypt by a Mohammedan Power, like Turkey, would also imperil England's hold over her 60 million Mohammedan subjects in India, besides prejudicing her relations with Afghanistan and Persia. Turkey, however, can never dream of recovering Egypt until she is mistress of a developed railway system in Asia Minor and Syria, and until, through the progress of the Anatolian Railway to Baghdad, she is in a position to withstand an attack by England upon Mesopotamia. The Turkish Army must be increased and improved, and progress must be made in her economic and financial position. . . . The stronger Turkey grows, the more dangerous does she become for England. . . . Egypt is a prize which, for Turkey, would be well worth the risk of taking sides with Germany in a war with England. The *policy of protecting Turkey, which is now pursued by Germany, has no other object but the desire to effect an insurance against the danger of a war with England.*"

I ought to state that the italics in this interesting passage are not my own but those of Dr. Rohrbach.*

Such being the avowed object of the railway, what steps can and ought to be taken by our Government to safeguard British interests? Before we attempt to answer this question it may be well to cast a glance at the course of the projected railway. The only section yet completed is one of 125 miles from Konia, the terminus of the German railway through Asia Minor, to a place called Bulgurlu. But sufficient Turkish revenues have already been earmarked for the purpose of carrying the line across the

* Rohrbach, "Die Bagdad Bahn," second edition, Berlin, 1911, pp. 18, 19.

mountain barrier of the Anti-Taurus as far as a place called Halif, on the plain of Mesopotamia, east of the Euphrates. After the passage of the Anti-Taurus Mountains the line is designed to bifurcate at a little town called Killis, to the north of Aleppo. One arm is to proceed to Aleppo, where it will join the French railway between Aleppo and Damascus. The Damascus line has a branch to Beirut, on the coast of Syria; and from the station of Rayak, on this branch, about midway between Beirut and Damascus, it is proposed to take the railway straight to the Egyptian frontier. This section between Rayak and the Egyptian frontier is marked "for immediate execution" in the files of the Ministry of Public Works at Constantinople, and it is coloured red in the railway map issued by this Department in 1909. Presumably the gauge of the railway between Aleppo and Damascus will be assimilated to that of the Baghdad Railway; and the Syrian arm of the Baghdad enterprise will then extend in an almost straight and uninterrupted line through Syria to the Egyptian frontier. The Mesopotamian arm will proceed from Killis across the Euphrates, and, instead of following the course of that great river, will be taken over the floor of the desert to Mosul. From Mosul it will follow the courses successively of the Tigris and of the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf. The long section between the Euphrates and Mosul will be exposed to the depredations of the wild Arab tribes, and will require to be policed on an extensive scale.

Such are the outlines of this gigantic enterprise. With its two great arms, the railway is designed to control all the country lying between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. It requires no great insight into the future to recognize that, as Captain Mahan has so well pointed out, the continuance of Egypt under its present political tenure and the safety of the British communications with India, the Far East and Australia, both ultimately depend upon the political complexion and bias of these particular regions. Should they continue in the possession of a

neutral State, like Turkey—of a Turkey jealous above all things of enforcing her neutrality, and refusing to become a pawn on the chess-board of high politics—then we shall have nothing to fear. But if they are to be crossed by “Manchurian” railways controlled by a great European Power, the British Empire will have to look out for storms. It is true that her sea-power might be used at two points of the present *tracé* of these railways—namely, in the neighbourhood of Alexandretta and at the southern extremity of the Syrian coast. But in the Syrian case we should be obliged to hold the region in force, while, in the case of Alexandretta, it is only for a very short distance that the railway approaches within fifteen miles of the coast. The alternative route through Malatia has at present been banned by Russia; but, when Germany has completed her economic penetration of these regions, it will probably be adopted, at least in the form of a strategical railway, owing to its distance from the sea.

One hears it constantly stated that what the British Government ought to do is to concentrate on the section of the railway between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, and to endeavour to obtain control over that section. I think this proposal was originally put forward by the late Sir Fitzgerald Law. But it fails almost entirely to meet the necessities of the situation which must arise if the railway is ever built. What is required for commercial purposes is concentration upon the branch of the line from Sadjeh above Baghdad to Khanakin on the Persian frontier. As is well known, it is proposed that this branch should be continued by Russian capital to Tehran. The Baghdad-Khanakin trade route has been developed exclusively by Englishmen, and our trade over it already amounts to over one million sterling a year—the value of British goods conveyed by this route. This figure compares with under £100,000 as the value of the goods contributed by all other European countries, including Germany. Preferential treatment by a railway of German goods would be tantamount to slamming

in our face the door which we have opened in this region at so great an expense of energy and labour. From the commercial point of view, a railway between Baghdad and the Gulf would be of comparatively little use, and it would even prejudice trade if it were built with the proceeds of increased customs duties. Great Britain and India mainly send valuable goods into this region—Great Britain Manchester cottons, and India coffee, indigo, tea, and spices. A ton of Manchester goods is worth on the average £100; and a 4 per cent. increase of the duties, which are levied *ad valorem*, would increase the cost to the consumer of this ton of printed cottons by no less a sum than 8s. The present freight on this ton of goods from Busrah to Baghdad by river is 25s. So, even if the railway, built out of the proceeds of customs revenues, were to carry the goods to Baghdad for nothing, there would be an increase in cost, due to the railway, to the consumer in Baghdad of 55s. a ton over and above the present rates of freight.

The natural communications of Mesopotamia are the great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris; and the true economic development of this vast country lies in the improvement of these waterways. The Tigris is already open as far as Baghdad, and, so long as we can effectively secure equal treatment for British goods on any railway between Baghdad and the Persian centres, we need not fear the competition of a railway between Baghdad and the Gulf, provided that it be not a subsidized railway. These, I think, are the principal commercial considerations involved by the proposed railway.

From the political point of view, just as Russia has made her stipulations with Germany and with Turkey in connection with the enterprise, and has insisted that no strategic railways should be built in the direction of her frontier, or even in the direction of the Persian frontier, so it would seem that a similar course is dictated to Great Britain by the dictates of ordinary prudence. The projected line from Rayak in Syria to the Egyptian frontier is plainly inadmissible, and I scarcely think that, if Russia were to change

places with us, she would ever consent to the line from Baghdad to the Gulf. Happily, in the case of the Syrian railways, we may expect to have France on our side. The *Temps* newspaper is engaged in waging a campaign against the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, accusing him of neglect of essential French interests, which lie in Syria, and of being decoyed by railway proposals in other parts of Turkey. The *Temps* will probably get its own way, and it is already announced that M. Pichon will shortly relinquish office. However this may be, the *Temps* has performed a great public service in devoting column after column of its space during recent months to the task of exposing the dangers, and even the calamities, which must befall the Powers of the Triple Entente if they remain indifferent or inert in face of the dynamic policy at present being pursued by Germany in the Ottoman Empire. I confess to sharing the fears of the *Temps*. Especially I am alarmed by the atmosphere of impenetrable secrecy with which our own Government are seeking to surround their negotiations with Turkey and Germany. Questions on the subject, both in the Lords and in the Commons, are met by a blank refusal to supply any information. I am reminded of the answers which were given to my own questions prior to the signature of the Anglo-Russian Agreement concerning Persia. Surely in a question of the magnitude of this Baghdad Railway the best military brains of the Empire should be called into consultation, and also representatives of our commerce. The question needs to be discussed, not only as a general proposition, but also in detail. It is easy to establish temporary good relations with a foreign Power by making large concessions. But the policy of "sops to Cerberus" must in the long run defeat its own object, and embitter, rather than place upon a footing of permanent friendliness, our relations with that Power. In the life of nations, as in the lives of individuals, true friendship must be based upon mutual respect. It ought not to be beyond the competence of a well-directed Foreign Policy, especially

in view of the present alertness of French public opinion towards this question, to secure a settlement compatible alike with our own interests and those of France, and with the legitimate requirements of the Ottoman Empire and of German commerce with Turkey. From the point of view of Turkey, railway communication between the capital and Baghdad is an aspiration which can be defended by reasons carrying weight with every impartial mind. But the satisfaction of this desire need not entail surrender on our part of essential British interests. The railway scheme has been overloaded with a mass of extraneous matter, and the sooner it is relieved of this pernicious incubus, the better it will be both for Turkey and her neighbours.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Ronaldshay, M.P.) said that when Colonel Yate read his paper on "The Trans-Persian Railway," it took so long to read that all who took part in the discussion were restricted in the length of their speeches, and some were excluded altogether on account of want of time. It was largely on that account that Mr. Lynch kindly offered to give a paper on a similar subject of not more than half an hour's duration, so that anyone who wished to take part in the discussion of this most important and interesting question might have the opportunity to do so. He would call upon Mr. Lynch to read his paper on "Railways in the Middle East."

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: It seemed to me as I listened to Mr. Lynch that he attached perhaps undue weight to the danger from the military point of view of the construction of railways in Asiatic Turkey by Germany. I do not quite see where the danger comes in. After all, Asiatic Turkey is not contiguous with Germany. Did Mr. Lynch mean that Germany was going to transport army corps across her frontiers down to Constantinople, then across the

Bosphorus, right through to Baghdad, and eventually to the Persian Gulf?

MR. LYNCH: The train of reasoning adopted by Dr. Rohrbach does not follow those lines; the danger does not lie there, as I point out in my *Fortnightly Review* article. The whole object of the policy which Dr. Rohrbach expounds is to increase the military strength of Turkey, and through the Turkish Army, led by German officers, to make the Ottoman Empire a potential instrument against Great Britain.

THE CHAIRMAN: That puts a different construction upon the matter, no doubt. In the event of a network of railways being built in Asiatic Turkey, especially railways which could be used to bring Turkish army corps under German officers to the Egyptian frontier, we should be confronted with a menace we should have to carefully guard against. But I do not think there is much fear of a railway of that kind being built at present. As you are aware, a vast sum of money has been expended in building the Hedjaz Railway, which runs down in a direction similar to that which the railway to the Egyptian frontier would take. When the late Sultan originated the Hedjaz scheme, there was probably a good deal more of policy than of piety working in his mind. However that may be, it seems to me improbable, in the present state of Turkish finances, that the Porte will construct a railway to run parallel for a considerable way with the Hedjaz Railway, in order to reach the Egyptian frontier.

I thoroughly agree with what Mr. Lynch said as to the proposed branch line from Sadijeh to Khanakin on the Persian border, from whence a branch line will be continued by Russia to Tehran. The route the railway would serve has been developed by us, and the trade which passes over that route is preponderatingly British. But I am constrained to point out that we gave our prior rights in those regions away when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in 1907. I protested as strongly as I could in the House of Commons against the particular partition of

spheres of influence in Persia then agreed to. It is all very well to protest, and right to protest at the proper time; but we have to recognize accomplished facts as facts. It is not now in our power to do anything to prevent the construction of the line from Khanakin to Tehran; that has been taken out of our hands by the Convention. I understood Mr. Lynch to say that if the Baghdad Railway was built, it ought to be British south of Baghdad.

MR. LYNCH: I said it was a matter of indifference so long as British goods had equal treatment guaranteed between Baghdad and the Persian centres, and the railway was not subsidized.

THE CHAIRMAN: But I think every Englishman who has studied the subject is agreed that, if the line is built, we must control the southern section of it from Baghdad to the Gulf. If it is going to be a trans-Continental railway, it seems to me, whether we think it ought or ought not to stop at a particular point, no power on earth will be able to stop it when it reaches Baghdad from being extended to the Gulf. Therefore we have to concentrate our energies upon securing control of the southern branch of the railway.

In the early part of his paper, Mr. Lynch referred to the comments of the Russian Press on the Trans-Persian Railway scheme, and came to the conclusion that, in view of the attitude of the Russian Government, there was very little prospect of the railway being built. I need hardly say that I entirely agree with him. As I pointed out at our last meeting, it seems unlikely that private financiers will throw twenty millions of money into a country like Persia for the purpose of building a very difficult and very expensive line, and one which is not likely to show much return—at any rate for a great number of years. If there is to be railway communication with India, the line which business men would go for, as a business proposition, would be the shortest route, and that is the route through Afghanistan. There is only the comparatively small gap

of Afghan territory to cross to connect the Russian railways and the Indian railways already in existence. Anyone asked to put money into a scheme of this kind would see at once that the Trans-Afghan line is the better proposition of the two, and that, in the circumstances, the Persian proposal is in the nature of a wild-cat scheme.

LORD LAMINGTON : Our Chairman seems to take the view that it is no use discussing the proposed line from Baghdad to the Persian frontier, to be carried thence to Tehran, because we have given away our rights there by the Anglo-Russian Convention. But that criticism cannot apply to the Baghdad-Khanakin branch. The remark, I think, which forms the strong point of Mr. Lynch's paper, is when he asks what are we doing now. Are the Government coming to arrangements to the prejudice of our interests ? We really do not know what is going on. The Government may be safeguarding our interests in Persia and the Persian Gulf. But we can get no information, and I do not think their past record, as illustrated by the Anglo-Russian Convention entitles us to have much confidence in their present negotiations. That is the really serious point in the situation.

As regards the general question, I entirely agree with Lord Ronaldshay that it is essential we should have control of the section from Baghdad to the Gulf ; and I am aware of nothing in the Anglo-Russian Convention to prejudice our rights in this respect.

I believe that the Afghan route to India would be the most unfavourable to us, because it would be less under our control ; but we must not forget that this or any other line would render India more vulnerable to attack. These questions are vital to our interests, and we ought to know what is taking place.

MR. G. LLOYD, M.P. : I fully agree with Mr. Lynch as to the Baghdad-Khanakin section. I pointed out officially to Government four or five years ago the importance of this section as a controlling factor in Persian trade.

I am glad to say that there are indications at the present moment that Germany is realizing the strength of our claims as to the control of the Baghdad-Busra section. I would like to suggest that we should press upon Government a secondary scheme I once before proposed, and which seems to me would be effective in regard to Khanakin. A railway from the north via Mosul will be the means by which German goods will be carried into Central Persia. So in the same way England, sending her goods via the Persian Gulf, should be provided with fair access to the Central Persian markets. I cannot quite agree with Mr. Lynch when he says there is no value in a railway from Busra to Baghdad. There is at least this value : that if we do not secure the line somebody else will. But we need more direct facility for sending our goods into Persia, and this should be provided by a railway to the Persian border from a point well below Baghdad. I would suggest Kut as the starting-point of the line, which would thus give our trade direct and separate access.

Respecting what has been said upon the Turkish approach to Egypt, I have reason to believe that the Akabah question is very much to the front just now, though it does not figure in the papers at present. I think that this fact tends to enhance the importance of the considerations which have been put before us this afternoon.

As regards the attitude of the *Temps*, to which the lecturer referred, I think in estimating its opinions we ought to take into account the report that one of the directors of the policy of the *Temps* is keenly interested in the matter, and that it will therefore probably not be lost sight of.

LORD RONALDSHAY having to leave for another engagement, the chair was taken by LORD LAMINGTON.

COLONEL YATE, M.P. : I should like to emphasize what Mr. Lynch said as to the Baghdad-Khanakin section. The Anglo-Russian Agreement has no doubt put into the hands of Russia the construction of any extension from Khanakin

to the Persian capital ; but the construction of the line from Baghdad to Khanakin, so far as we know, is still open for negotiation. It is of the utmost importance that, as Sir Thomas Barclay has suggested, we should press for the internationalization of this line. It is necessary for England to have perfect equality as to freight charges and matters of that kind right up to Khanakin. Indeed, we must have equality of treatment not only from the city of Baghdad, but throughout the province of Baghdad, north as well as south of the town.

I can quite realize the gravity of the Egyptian aspect of the question of the Baghdad Railway and its branches ; and I agree with Lord Lamington that we ought to have fuller information as to the course of the negotiations our Government are carrying on. We should be told whether our interests both as regards Persia and as regards Egypt are being duly protected.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE said that he adhered to his belief, expressed in the paper which he read before the society three weeks earlier, that the Trans-Persian Railway was very likely to be built. As he then mentioned, he had discussed the question with M. Timiriazeff, President of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, who dwelt very strongly on the necessity for the railway. As to the superiority of the Trans-Afghanistan route from the economic standpoint, it was very well known that the Ameer of Afghanistan would have no railway through his territories. Even if it were possible to induce the Ameer to withdraw his opposition to railways, he did not know that he (the speaker) would very much care about giving Russia immediate access to India through Afghanistan ; and there were few possessing adequate knowledge of the Indian frontier who welcomed the prospect. The Russian approach to India has been our anxiety for the last century. To talk of a line from the Kushk Post to Chaman seems simple, but the project bristles with difficulties. He held to the opinion that strategically the Trans-Persian Railway was

safe for us. That line would pass for the last 600 miles through the British sphere of influence and British territory, through a region which was one of extreme difficulty for the movement of troops. Moreover, our naval forces could be turned to account if attack through that avenue was threatened. He strongly favoured the development of our naval strength in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, which would make our position, with our naval base upon India, a very strong one. Sooner or later the Baghdad Railway must be completed. That was a moral certainty, and in itself would involve the strengthening of our naval position in the Gulf. He was well aware that there were grave problems for us to consider in connection with the Trans-Persian Railway scheme, and had pointed them out in his paper. He saw every sign that Russia would endeavour to make the line, as far as possible, subservient to her own commercial and strategical interests. With what possible object could Russia be now negotiating with Germany about the Khanakin-Tehran branch if she never meant to construct it? And if Russia carried the railway to Isfahan, was it likely to be conducive to British interests to sit still with folded hands while Germany and Russia between them exploited Mesopotamia and Southern Persia and drove out British trade and enterprise? That was not to be our policy, and therefore he adhered to his opinion that the Trans-Persian Railway would be made.

CAPTAIN MACAULAY: I would like to add a few suggestions in support of Mr. Lynch's remarks as to the immense strategic importance of the new railways in Asiatic Turkey. If we examine a map we shall probably agree that, as far as geographical position and formation goes, the territory of Turkey is the most remarkable strategic entity in the world. It joins three continents and commands five seas. But geographical position of itself only gives potential strategic influence. Actual strategic value is determined by development. The development of Asiatic Turkey by modern means of communication—*i.e.*,

by a railway system with a trunk from the European head and two strong limbs stretching on the one hand to the frontier of Egypt and on the other to the Persian Gulf will entirely revolutionize the influence of the Ottoman Empire on modern world strategy—whether we consider it as an isolated unit, or, more so still, in any military connection with a European alliance which exerts pressure on the naval or expeditionary forces of the United Kingdom. The defence of Egypt, for instance, has been mainly a question of sea-power in the Mediterranean. It will be something more than this when a Turkish railway runs without a break from Hyder Pasha to the Egyptian frontier. Our proper reply to the Asiatic Turkish railways whether we consider them in the light of the Persian Gulf or Egyptian questions, is the development of sea-power in the Indian Ocean. This can only be effectively brought about by Indian co-operation in Imperial naval defence. And this would be India's best counterstroke to the threat on her commercial and strategic communications. With unchallengeable command of the Indian Ocean, such as we could obtain by a proper reciprocal system of defence between the great Imperial units washed by the Indian and Pacific Oceans, we could, with the aid of our strategic outposts, not only secure that vital point of communication—Egypt and the Suez Canal—but enunciate and maintain a Munroe Doctrine for the littoral of the Indian Ocean and its inland seas.

With regard to this Trans-Persian line, I cannot agree with Colonel Yate that it would not seriously affect the strategical position on the North-West Frontier. If, as Colonel Yate points out, the section from Kerman eastwards is extremely difficult for the passage of armies, then one effect of this railway would be that it will remove this defensive obstacle by making it traversable. A line of railway once properly built cannot be rendered altogether useless for more than a few days, except at the passage of great rivers, tunnels, etc. But there is a larger aspect of

this question of continental railway communication with India that I would like to put before you. India is guarded on her continental borders by a series of huge natural defensive barriers—mountains, deserts, etc. If the impossibility of them is maintained, she can isolate herself from overland attack and yet maintain her touch with the whole world and its markets by sea. She becomes practically an island, and as an island, with her geographical position as centre of the Asiatic seaboard, she can exert immense influence on the future of Asia. But if her defensive barriers are annihilated by modern communications, if she is joined with China (as has been suggested) on the one hand, with Russia through Persia or Afghanistan on the other, she will eventually share the fate of all peninsulas and become a pawn in the game of powerful land neighbours. She will constantly be susceptible to the drag or pressure of antagonistic forces. She may be forced to identify herself with one to protect herself against another, and her association may not always be in accord with her interests, or at least her inclinations. Take the position of Italy, between France and Austria, to-day or in the past. Or again the Balkan Peninsula, which is always exposed to disturbing influences arising out of the ambitions or aspirations of Austria or Russia.

The true interests of India, either as a national entity or as a unit of the British Empire, lie in the development of sea rather than continental communications. Her future is on the ocean.

SIR THOMAS BARCLAY : I should like to revert to what my friend Mr. Lynch pointed out that there are two aspects of this question—the strategic aspect and the commercial, or economic, aspect. We cannot get rid of the economic aspect of the railway by obtaining control of the section of the railway from Baghdad down to the Gulf. With the greater part of the system in the hands of the Germans, it is quite possible that they would be able to give or to secure considerable advantages for their own country—

men over us. I do not say that rebates would be given (they are, as a fact, forbidden by the concession), but the mere fact that such advantages are possible, constitutes an important reason for taking steps calculated to protect the interests of British trade. Mr. Lynch pointed out that the idea of Germany sending troops through Turkey in Europe and then through Asia Minor for the purpose of conquering India is not one we need be concerned with. That is not the danger at all. The danger is that of trade advantage, and the possibility—a somewhat remote one as it seems to me—of an alliance between Germany and Turkey for the purpose of vindicating Turkey's rights in Egypt. It is the economic advantage derivable from control of hundreds of miles of line through hither-Asiatic territory which has more particularly to be thought of. It seems possible at this moment to come to an agreement as to the internationalization of the railway. International law may be said to have vindicated the right of nations to international user of international rivers and waterways. Now, railways which run through different countries are, in certain circumstances, as truly international as waterways, and should be subjected to similar conditions of equality of treatment. Why should not the Baghdad Railway be placed under a joint international control? Difficulties and rivalries might be removed, as in the case of the Danube, and great advantages follow from this counteracting control.

I cannot help thinking Mr. Lynch has attached too much importance to Dr. Rohrbach's monograph on *Die Bagdad Bahn*. I do not know to what extent he has authority for saying that this gentleman voices the opinion of the German Government. He may voice the views of a certain section of German public opinion; but I very much doubt whether the German authorities have anything more in view at the present moment than the economic advantage of the railway in question. We have control of the sea and of the Suez Canal, and all the colonial plums

have already been taken by us and other Powers. She is probably thinking, and from her point of view, of the advantage which German trade and industry can ultimately derive from being relieved of the necessity of passing through the Suez Canal, and being exposed to the vicissitudes arising in connection with possible war. That is a very substantial reason why the Germans would like to have this line constructed. The British nation, on its side, is not bound to take any altruistic view of the question for the benefit of Germany. We must look out for ourselves, just as the Germans look out for themselves. I am glad the question has been dealt with by Mr. Lynch, who knows as much about the problem as anybody living. I feel sure the discussion to-day will prove valuable, for there are signs that the two Governments wish to come to terms. I hope the terms will be such, however, that British interests will not be subordinated to the mere consideration of getting the question out of the way.

M. PHILIPPE MILLET said that as London correspondent to the *Temps* he would like to express his obligations to Mr. Lynch for his allusion to the attitude of that journal upon the Baghdad Railway question. In reference to an observation which fell from Mr. Lloyd he went on to explain that although some time ago there had been negotiations between the English firm of Messrs. Barry and Co. and a French syndicate with which his friend, the Foreign Affairs editor of the *Temps*, was associated, it was found in the spring of last year that the concession sought for, a branch line in the Euphrates Valley, could not be obtained, and that in any case the line would be impracticable for a long period of years. The project was abandoned some six or eight months ago, and he could assure Mr. Lloyd that considerations of mere personal interest did not enter into the policy of the *Temps* in discussing the Baghdad question.

LORD LAMINGTON said he was sure they must all have been gratified to hear M. Millet's statement.

MR. LYNCH in reply said : We should be very grateful to M. Millet for having disposed of the suggestion that those admirable articles in the *Temps* to which I referred were in any sense inspired by the private interests of the writer. Those of us who are most familiar with these regions sometimes have private interests in them, and if we say anything disagreeable to the Government of the day it is hinted that our attitude has been prompted by private considerations.

Captain Macaulay raised the whole question of the advisability of Great Britain assisting railways in the direction of India at all. . . . I feel myself in complete agreement with him, the more so because most of these railways are not in any way necessitated by the economic conditions of the countries they are intended to subserve. For instance, the Baghdad Railway, especially in the section between Baghdad and Busra, will run parallel to a navigable river ; and it cannot pay unless it is subsidized by very large sums taken from the Turkish taxpayer. Similarly, the Persian Railway cannot be built at present because the Russian Government has not of late established such relations with Persia as enable her to make some arrangement with the Tehran Government under which Persian finances can be called upon to pay the interest on the capital spent on this non-remunerative line. . . . There are, in fact, in those regions only two lines which can be vindicated from the economic standpoint. One is the line from Baghdad, or rather from Sadjeh, to Khanakin. That ought to pay at once, and I should be inclined to advise any of my friends to invest their money in the undertaking even without any kilometric guarantee. It is an excellent commercial proposition. The other line, economically sound, is a railway from the head of the Gulf to Isfahan. Most of the other railways projected have motives other than economic behind them.

In respect to the extracts I read from Dr. Rohrbach's monograph, I will answer Sir Thomas Barclay's question. I do not suppose Dr. Rohrbach is directly voicing the opinion of the German Government. But I would like to

point out that, when the Baghdad Railway scheme was first started, it was said to be in no sense whatever a German Government enterprise. When Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons defended the arrangement which his Government proposed to make with Germany on that question, time after time he denied with emphasis that the Baghdad Railway was a German undertaking. That was in 1903. But would anyone in 1911 say that it was not a German undertaking, or that it was not under the direct auspices of the German Government? We have even seen Germany negotiating over the head of Turkey for a Russian extension of the line from the Persian border to Tehran. It is clear that the German Government have plainly fathered a scheme in respect to which they disavowed all responsibility in 1903.

In regard to Lord Ronaldshay's remark that we have given away our right to have any voice in the Khanakin section of the railway, I am not aware of any provision in the Anglo-Russian Agreement which in any way prohibits our coming to terms with Germany in connection with that section of the line. In fact, the Agreement has got nothing whatever to do with that section, though it does entail that any extension from the Persian border to Tehran shall, as between England and Russia, be constructed by Russian subjects. If we succeed in coming to an arrangement with Germany as to the section, as I very much hope we shall, there ought not to be the slightest difficulty in arriving at some arrangement with Russia as to the participation of British capital in the extension to Tehran. Our efforts ought to be concentrated on those points. With regard to the danger of German trade being favoured at the expense of British trade, we have most to fear that on the section between Baghdad and the Persian frontier, seeing that German goods will have to enter this railway system either at Haidar Pasha or at Alexandretta. Even supposing they were to enjoy favours on this section of the railway it would not make so much difference to us as on the Persian

section; because we could carry our goods to the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab very much for the same sum as the Germans would carry theirs to Alexandretta. Few German goods are likely to come across Europe by rail to Constantinople, and thence through Asiatic Turkey and Arabia to the Persian frontier. There may be some goods traffic from Central Europe, say from Austria, but the bulk of the goods will be conveyed by sea to Haidar Pasha or Alexandretta. So long as we can get our goods up the Tigris, and can secure that they should not encounter differential treatment on the railway into Persia, I think we shall have met fairly adequately the requirements demanded by commercial considerations.

LORD LAMINGTON : How will you secure that ?

MR. LYNCH : My idea is that we ought to be able to come to a friendly arrangement with Germany. There ought to be no need for us to build a railway from Kut on the Tigris to Khanakin. Germany should be prepared to come to an agreement if she sees that we are alive to our vital interests in those countries. If she thinks that British public opinion is lukewarm in connection with the Baghdad Railway, then I think that the prospects of a settlement are, indeed, remote. As to the Baghdad-Persian Gulf section, it is sure to come when it is required by the economic conditions of the country. But at present to spend even £100,000 a year on a line which can be of no commercial use is an absurd policy. As a link in a combined land and sea route to India, I see no objection to the section being built, so long as it is not subsidized at the expense of British trade in such a way as to ruin British communications up the Tigris, and so long as we control the end debouching upon the Persian Gulf. It is not clear, however, what particular interest we have in a line of this description.

GOVERNMENT'S BAD BARGAINS.

BY JAMES KENNEDY.

MEMOIRS are the present fashion. Almost every notable has his memoir, and everyone who is not of note reads it. These memoirs appeal to the great British public's curiosity and love of gossip about distinguished men. And yet the literary skill required for a biography is rare, and the biographers of their contemporaries labour under many disadvantages. The hero is often credited with qualities which no intimate suspected; his portrait is sketched in luminous paint; there is a *suppressio veri*; and of the hero's friends and contemporaries both for good and evil much of necessity remains unsaid. Even when the biographer is determined to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, he is apt to magnify passing fits of ill-humour or petty incidents into serious traits. And so it happens that modern biographies seldom give more than a blurred image of a man. The centuries are sparing of a Tacitus or a Boswell.

Autobiographies fare even worse. Some of the autobiographies which have recently been published resemble nothing more than a visitors' book. Every chance acquaintance is introduced, mentioned, and dismissed with a sweet society smile. Could we have the unvarnished diaries which are sometimes kept, we should doubtless have much pleasant reading. But few men care to put on record all their most

private thoughts and deeds, like the honest Mr. Pepys; and Pepys would not have done it if his wife, "poor wretch," had possessed a key to his private drawer and cipher. Moreover, diaries occasionally become slightly monotonous. We have heard of one which contains only a single entry since the Liberal Government came into power; and that entry has been made daily for the last four years with unvarying regularity. It consists of a single word—"Damn."

In this plethora of memoirs and reminiscences Anglo-Indians are left out somewhat in the cold. We have had Sir Alfred Lyall's masterly state portrait of Lord Dufferin, and Sir W. Lee-Warner's elaborate memoir of the great Dalhousie. Then there are the autobiographies. Colonel J. H. Rivett-Carnac has recently given us his delightful stories of many eminent men, and of others whom the Anglo-Indian will recognize under a thin disguise. The late Sir M. Grant-Duff published many volumes of an edifying but certainly tedious diary. And Sir Richard Temple, after intermixing his own deeds with whatever he discussed in sundry lively volumes, ended by favouring us with his autobiography. It was interesting, but scarcely equal to the subject. A hero who had been Lord Lawrence's favourite protégé, and who had filled more high offices than any other Anglo-Indian, a hero so energetic, pliant, and versatile, unsurpassed in the intelligent execution of his orders, perpetually restless, with his simple vanities and untiring good nature, the darling of *Punch*—what a portrait Boswell would have drawn of him! And there our list closes. The great British public which the publishers cultivate does not care much for Anglo-Indians unless their careers are very exceptional or romantic, and it cares still less about India. When the Anglo-Indian returns home, burning to impart his experiences of strange peoples and far lands, and to enlighten the world regarding Pergunnahs and Patwaris and Pattidars, his friends are apt to consider him and his jargon a bore. They are doubtless pleased to see

him, but for the moment they are seriously occupied with business, or law, or motoring, or golf. If the retired official has the good fortune to be a lawyer, or clergyman, or doctor, or engineer, he may possibly find a place among his professional brethren in England. But if he be merely a civil servant or a retired military man he is out of it all. He may betake himself to the country, grow cabbages and roses, and become a J.P.; or he may determine to settle in town or to live in happy suburban obscurity. If he chooses he can find plenty of occupation, mostly unpaid. He may think that he has a talent for finance and the directorship of companies, or he may sit on Hospital and School Boards, or employ his days in golf, or go to the club and exchange old-world stories of Tom and Dick and Harry with like-minded fogies. Or he may occupy himself with the writing of books. I once heard a very elderly Anglo-Indian of note discussing with a good-looking youthful spinster lady the question which gave the greatest pleasure, the children of the body or the offspring of the mind. Poor man! he wrote forty-two volumes which nobody read except the printers. And so it happens (and no wonder) that for the true Briton India is a bore. A party of Anglo-Indians once assembled before dinner at the Saville, and began telling tiger stories. "Did you ever shoot a tiger?" asked an Englishman of a silent onlooker. "No," was the answer. "Then you're my man. Come and sit by me."

But for the Anglo-Indian the lives of Anglo-Indians are well worth the preserving. In days long gone by Englishmen in India formed a community quite unlike any in Europe—a community with well-defined surroundings and marked peculiarities. Before communication with Europe became easy, they frequently settled in the country. They grew grey-haired in office, were Majors and Judges at eighty, and were steeped in an Indian way of looking at things. They had their own code of honour, which was a high one. Their ways appear strange to the present generation. They went tiger-shooting in tall hats, smoked

hookahs and long cheroots, had swarthy bearers carrying silver maces before them into church, and lived in patriarchal fashion among a multitude of domestics. "Depend upon it, the unknown heroes are the true ones," a very wise man once remarked; and it is these heroes, unknown to Europe or to fame, whom the Indian peasant reverences (or reverenced thirty or forty years ago) as a Rajah or a god. For the peasant of the Ganges Doab Lord Lake was an incarnation of the god of war. Trail, the first white man who ruled Kumaon, and who ruled it alone for twenty years with very little of *Kanun*, was always remembered by the hill-folk emphatically as "The Rajah." Bird and Reade and Tucker were the civilizers of Gorakhpur, and so remembered afterwards for many a decade. And there are many others, now almost forgotten, about whom the delver into ancient history would like to know something more—men, for instance, like Halhed, who sometimes took out a ragged *posse* to storm a walled village of turbulent Rajputs, or the mud fort of some contumacious Rajah, and sometimes spent his days at the desk, with a white clad pundit on the carpet at his feet, writing disquisitions upon ancient Hindu land tenures on the authority of Sanskrit texts. Those days in which the administrative system of the Indian Empire was being hammered out on the anvil were full of vitality and old-world ideas and quaint original characters.

The generations of Indians and Anglo-Indians are alike proverbially short. Twenty and five years is now the normal length of an Anglo-Indian's official life, although some men, by reason of promotion or the power of sitting still, may attain to thirty-five or even forty years. Medieval India passed away with the Mutiny, and the atmosphere has greatly changed since 1857. But still the old forces are at work. An Anglo-Indian official career will still develop whatever of individuality a man may have. And the more the official is brought into direct contact with the native, the more likely is he to develop a character of his

own. The successful man who spends his life in the Secretariat or the High Court is generally much like his brother in the Home Civil Service. "Uno avulso non deficit alter." He may or may not do great things for the Empire, but he is not the man whom the countryside remembers. Thomason, who ruled the Provinces of Agra and Delhi for ten years as their first Lieutenant-Governor, was a great man, full of excellent administrative ideas, and with a rare power of exciting the admiration and enthusiasm of his staff. But although his name is a household word to every U.P. Civil servant, I only once heard a native mention him. The ruler of the division or the district is the man whom the countryside knows, and if his character is in any way remarkable, he will be remembered. Possibly he achieves great things like Sir Henry Ramsay, but he is quite as likely to be remembered because he is magnificent, or odd, or somehow uncommon. The younger Bird is as well remembered as his father in Gorakhpur, not because, like his father, he did great things, but because he lived like a rajah, and dared to stay behind with his elephant and his rifle in the Mutiny when all the other Europeans had fled. Sometimes a man is remembered because of the general whirlwind and anarchy that arose during his reign. That, say the peasants, was the time of the *gardī*—that is, of chaos. And thus the best officer and the worst have an equal chance of immortality. It is the unexceptionable average man that passes out of mind, the man who does the ordinary work, and follows routine, and hands over the district to his successor as one wavelet melts into another. That man remains unregarded as an ordinary process of nature—nature and the *Sirkar* being much the same, and unaccountable in all their ways.

And so it comes about that the men whom we call Government's bad bargains may play quite an important part in the economy of British rule. For although the level of the Indian Civil Service is high, bad bargains are to be met with in it as in every other service. In every

considerable service there is a percentage of men who are eccentric, or crazy, or who take to drink, or, for some reason or another, do not do their work efficiently. Every Governor knows them to his cost. An official may be a good bargain or a bad one for many different reasons—industry, energy, ability, temper, or tact, all or any of these qualities may be wanting. A man may sometimes fail from the excess of his virtues, or because he is put in a false position. These are the rare and splendid failures, *digni imperio nisi imperassent*; men whom all the world admires; of Herculean energy and immense industry; of commanding intellect and iron will, who fail as Titans usually do when they try to make the course of the world run smooth. But the great majority of failures, of course, are of another class. Inborn laziness is perhaps the commonest cause, and in former days this was probably a more frequent cause than now. Nowadays a man is usually inefficient because he is cranky, or has had a sunstroke, or betakes himself to drink, or for some such reason. But formerly pure and unadulterated laziness was not very uncommon. These lazy men were often very good fellows and excellent company. Sometimes they persuaded themselves that they were desperately hard worked. A friend of mine peaked and pined when he retired, and fretted himself into a shadow of his former corpulent figure, because he had no longer anything to do. And yet for thirty-five years he had done nothing except open his official *dawk* daily, and hand over the contents to his head clerk with ejaculatory comments and a multiplicity of oaths. An Irish college, seeing his name upon the title-page of an official manual, mistook him for a literary character, and invested him with an honorary degree.* The honour, however, was not wholly undeserved, for my friend was

* This is not an exaggeration, but, I believe, literally true. The college in question asked its alumni among the services in India what works they had produced. My friend put down the manual and received the degree. So far as I know he had never in his life gone further in literary composition than writing his name.

not only a teller of good stories, but an excellent subject for them. But usually idle men are free from all delusions of this kind ; they are nakedly and unashamedly idle. Once upon a time, in the second Afghan War, a certain young fellow was left alone as transport officer at a solitary post on the top of a hill. He found himself much incommoded day and night by military men pushing on in hot haste for the front and requiring remounts, or it might be a convoy which wanted fodder for the camels and mules, so he determined to hand over the business to his Babu, and be incommoded no more. With this truly laudable view he procured a carpenter and made a blackboard, which he stuck up before his tent with the words "Baptist Mission" painted big upon it. "After that," said my future D.S.P., "not a soul ever disturbed me."

Some families have a strain of incorrigible idleness running in them. There was one old Highland family which boasted of at least one Governor and a Chief Justice with other distinguished members of the race, but which also possessed some famous examples of incorrigible idleness. It was my lot to be intimate with one of these. He was a largely-built and handsome Highlander, proud as a Highlander can be, a good linguist, and a man of excellent abilities, with an unusual knowledge of early Mahomedan history ; moreover, a bachelor who could give a capital dinner. He used to say that blighted love had been the ruin of his life, but, youngster though I was, I doubted it. His mode of life was simple and uniform. Every morning you might meet him taking his constitutional on foot, with a *chuprassi* at his elbow and his dogcart led behind him. In the evening he ordinarily dined on a leg of mutton and a bottle of champagne. While the champagne lasted he was brilliant ; then he slept ; and when he awoke, he walked up and down his dining-room for half an hour, cursing Lord Lawrence and the Government. The tedious hours of day, which he passed upon the bench, were chiefly passed in the killing of flies, wherein he became so great an

expert that he could put his finger upon any fly on the table before him. He also used to enliven his judicial notes with most laughable portraits of the witnesses ; these, however, he brought home, and did not place upon record. As he grew old he became very corpulent ; and died, poor fellow, he who had never done a stroke of work, of a stroke of apoplexy on the floor of his Court House. Such is the Aristophanic irony of Fate !

But such men, although they may entertain, and be remembered by their associates, are not necessarily of the kind which makes an impression on the million or more inhabitants of an Indian district. Very different was my friend Frederick Salmon Growse. Growse came of an old English family, was Oxford bred, and had the hall-mark of an Oxford don ; he was of a delicate constitution, had a squeaky voice, and for a long time lived upon one lung. I am afraid that he was a bad officer ; he believed in letting the great landlords manage things a good deal their own way ; and it was currently reported that his bearer and his office staff more or less ran the district. Moreover, although a most lovable fellow, he was easily irritated when anyone, especially any archæologist, contradicted his favourite ideas —and these ideas were many. Thus he was always at war with somebody. At one time it was Fergusson. He printed a pamphlet in refutation of Fergusson, and, I believe, asked Thacker and Spink to give away a copy of it gratis with every copy of Fergusson's Indian Architecture which they sold. At another time it was the celebrated Sanskrit scholar Weber, or the Director of Public Instruction, or the Government. When Sir George Couper, then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, transferred him from Mathura to Bulandshahr, Growse entered in the Preface to the next edition of his "Memoirs of Mathura," an official work, a protest against the tyranny of this strange Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph." With the Department of Public Works he had a life-long feud. For Grouse was not only an admir-

able scholar and archæologist, but an architect after an exceedingly eclectic pattern of his own. He kept draughtsmen whom he sent over the country to copy all the best Hindu and Mahomedan designs either of building or of ornament. And having some private fortune, he revived various beautiful and artistic handicrafts which were in danger of extinction, such as the wire inlaid work of Mainpuri. He supported the workmen, and got his friends in England and elsewhere to buy their productions. The ideas and designs he thus accumulated were employed in what Growse considered his most original work—his buildings. He erected gateways and halls and market-places, partly at his own cost, partly by subscriptions, to beautify Mathura and Bulandshahr. The Roman Catholic Chapel at Mathura was, I suppose, his most striking creation. The design was characteristic of the man. The groundwork was in the shape of a Latin cross, and Christian; the interior was Moorish; and the steeple was fashioned like the steeple of a Hindu temple. Growse had joined the Roman Communion soon after he came to India; and this church he built mostly at his own expense, partly at the expense of friends in England. A Bishop or Archbishop came to consecrate it; and at the subsequent dinner Growse triumphantly informed the Reverend Prelate that the silver spoon with which he had sprinkled the holy water came from a Hindu temple! That, at least, was the story which I heard.

Growse is still remembered in learned circles as an archæologist and scholar. He excavated the Buddhist mounds at Mathura, and his translation of Tulsi Das's Ramayana is a classic. He had an unrivalled knowledge of medieval Hindi, and was the first, I believe, to enter deeply into the mysteries of the Vaishnava cult and Krishna literature. He sometimes amused himself by turning Hindi poems into Latin elegiacs, which he sent me. But it was none of these things which captivated the native mind. It was the profound understanding and sympathy the man had

for the native genius. A celibate, religious, mild, and charitable, he knew more of their religion than they did themselves, and he taught them to admire their own productions. They called him the white *guru*; townspeople and rustics everywhere flocked to see him, and they welcomed him with a spontaneous respect and veneration which no other European of my acquaintance ever enjoyed. The Mahomedans of Bulandshahr reverenced him as much as the Hindus of Mathura. And he could get them to subscribe many thousands of rupees for any scheme he chose to start where any other official would have found it hard to extract a hundred or two.

I have described at length two different kinds of bad bargains. I shall choose John Power for a third. Power was of a kind very different from any of the foregoing—indeed, he was a startling contrast to Growse. Growse was delicate and conscientious and learned. Power was certainly not over conscientious, nor was he delicate, and he rarely opened anything more serious than a newspaper or magazine. He was the type of man who never does his proper work, but can help the Empire at a pinch. Power's father was a distinguished general officer of the Peninsular War; and John Power once told me that among his mother's wedding presents were six appointments in the Indian services for her sons to be. Such were the gifts of the old East India Company's directors! I do not know whether he belonged to the Irish Powers, but I have always figured him to myself as a magnificent specimen of the traditional Irish gentleman. He was over six feet high and well and strongly built; his iron grey hair clustered in curls over his head like Apollo's; and, take him all in all, he was one of the handsomest old men I have ever seen. He had a large knowledge of mankind both in Europe and in Asia, and his curiosity about everything human was insatiable; nothing human was too great or too small for him. His manners were courtly, and he was magnificent in all his ways. His toilet occupied much time; his washing basins were like brazen

seas, and his ablutions were famous. Prodigal of money in his youth, he was inclined to be penurious in old age. Although a born dandy, during the five years that I knew him, he never ordered new clothes, but kept four *darzis* at work to repair his old ones, which he inspected daily with a magnifying glass. He rarely gave a dinner-party, but when he did, his feasts would have satisfied a gourmet as to quality, and gargantuan in the size and number of the courses. Upon one occasion, after three hours of eating and drinking, I quite forgot what point of dinner we had reached, and inadvertently pulled out my pipe. "Won't you wait for the sweets before you smoke?" so he reproached me. At Moradabad he constructed a meat safe with a well below it, and, finding it cool, he built a bedchamber for himself above it—Power's folly, people called it. At Cawnpore he found the hot weather nights trying; he therefore had two beds put side by side, and employed men all night to ice one bed with ice in a copper warming pan, while he slept in the other. When the one bed got too hot he changed beds. It makes one think of the old French seigneurs who made their peasants beat the marshes all night and quiet the frogs that they might enjoy their slumbers. Power was an old bachelor and the pattern of neatness, but when I knew him, although he suffered no speck of dust upon his table, he would not suffer a single cobweb on the lofty ceiling to be disturbed. That was to show that he was living camp fashion. Moreover, he was a great gardener, and loved to watch and prune his roses. With so many domestic matters to look after he naturally could not spare much time for public affairs.

In 1857 the little town of Mainpuri was garrisoned by Sepoys, and John Power was magistrate and collector of the district, with his brother Jim Power for assistant. When the regiment mutinied the officers escaped, and the European residents held a hurried council in John Power's dressing-room. The general voice was for immediate

flight to Agra. "You perceive, gentlemen," said John Power, "that I have not dressed, so I and my brother mean to stay; but do you by all means go." And every one betook himself to Agra, while John Power and his brother, with their rifles and their servants, stationed themselves at either end of the bridge which led from the cantonments to the town. The river was unfordable, so that the town rabble could not join the mutineers without encountering the Powers. Fortunately for our hero, the mutineers were too much occupied in looting the treasury to give him any attention, and they made off to Delhi as fast as they could with their booty. Thus John Power re-established the British *raj* in Mainpuri, and maintained his ground for six weeks more until the mutineers, coming from Cawnpore, drove him out. Nor was this the only instance of John Power's coolness and courage. He had an intense scorn for a coward.

Power held the High Court in almost equal contempt. And this was unfortunate, because he spent the rest of his service as a Judge. In his report to Government on the Mutiny in Mainpuri he had said that he found a good riot case, prepared according to the most recent judicial circulars, and well stuffed with perjured evidence, was perfectly bullet-proof, and formed the best part of the defensive works for the Mainpuri Court House. Being of this opinion, when he became a judge he did as little work as possible. At the end of the year the High Court (it was then the old Sadr Court) pointed out that he had left most of the cases before him untried. "Please to inform their Honours, the Judges," Power wrote, "that as they have found much fault with my law, I have sent to England for a law library. When it arrives I propose to commence again." The Government transferred him to Cawnpore, and Mr. Drummond, the Lieutenant-Governor, privately informed him that he must either do his work or go. Power went to his office once; there was a hornet's nest in the veranda, and he turned his horse's head homewards. "I wrote to the

District Engineer to remove that nest," he afterwards told the Government, "and until he does so I decline to risk my person, or the persons of the suitors." This was the last straw, and Power went on furlough. No one expected him to return, but nearly five years afterwards he turned up again, and the Governor-General, in consideration of his distinguished services in the Mutiny, ordered him to be reinstated. Half pay had reformed John Power. This time he condescended to do his work, and when he chose to do it he could do it well ; his decisions showed judgment and good sense ; they sometimes even earned the High Court's special commendation. Many a story could I tell of his eccentricities, his coolness, his courage, and his wit. The Lieutenant-Governor of that time was Power's special detestation. He was junior to Power, and may have been Power's fag at Haileybury. And in an encounter of wits which took place between them Power did not get the worst of it. But the world to which Power belonged has long since passed away, and it would be difficult to conceive him among present-day surroundings.

Such were some of the bad bargains of the olden time. But, although times vary, the genus is perpetual ; and there is only one point in which the official bad bargain differs from his non-official brother. When I see a man trying to earn his living by a vocation for which he is manifestly unfit, I am seized with a profound pity for him. It is quite different with the man who is officially inefficient. If one pities at all, it is the Government one pities. It is, of course, quite easy to misjudge such men. Indian society outside the Presidency towns being mostly official, the official estimate of persons is apt to predominate. But, after all, the official estimate is not the final one ; there is more of a man than will go into an office pigeon-hole. Humanity "in the loomp" * is vastly entertaining, and has much good in it. There are, of course, a few men whom Nature herself bids us pass by on the other side, brutal,

* "The poor in a loomp is bad."—Tennyson.

bestial, and vicious ; others that are "malae bestiae," evil beasts that devour their neighbours. Accursed spirits : *non rationam di lor.* Much more frequently juxtaposition obliges us to associate with men who are merely dull, or unsociable, or miserly, or, it may be, some loud-mouthed, cocksure politician. But humanity is a mingled web of good and evil, and *exceptis occipendiis*, it is for the most part lovable. And the bad bargains are an integral part of humanity : they are ever with us. Do not we all confess that we are bad bargains every Sunday when we go to church? And outside the church walls, if they spoke truly, most men would confess that their lives have been a comparative failure. They have not done what they meant to do, and much of what they did might well have been left undone. We think we should have done better had Fortune been kinder. Possibly yes and possibly no—generally no. I suppose that, so far as the world goes, men generally get their deserts. The world knows very well what it wants and what suits it ; it may leave the poet to starve—but then the world is not meant for poets (although it may think Wordsworth or Tennyson worth the keeping alive), but for the man who "strikes ile." A prudent eye to one's own interests may make a very mean and selfish fellow, but it is a pretty sure sign-post, even for a dull man, to a fortune ; and the traveller who is equipped for the Equator must not expect to reach the Pole. Last of all comes old age the consoler and with it the cessation of desire ; and when desire decays, and all passion is spent, contentment comes.

THE BATTLE OF THE CHARACTERS; OR,
AN IMPERIAL SCRIPT FOR INDIA.*

By REV. J. KNOWLES.

THE object of the East India Association "is to promote, by all legitimate means, the interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India." The Association declares its warmest sympathy with the aspirations of the ruling Princes and educated Indians, so far as these are consonant with moderation and loyalty.

One of the aspirations of India is "the adoption of a common language;" another is "the use of a common script for the different languages of India." Resolutions of Indian conferences, articles in Indian magazines, leaders in newspapers, public discussions and associations for a common script—all show the aspiration. All agree as to the desirability of a uniform script; by many it is stated to be a "necessity."

India desires to become a united nation, and the two problems of a common language and a uniform script call for consideration in the light of these aspirations.

Now, there is no necessary connection between a language and the script by which it may be expressed. In India it is a common practice for Sanskrit to be written and printed in a vernacular character. Hindi and Urdu are really one language, though the one is written in the Nagari, and the other in the Persian character. The Pali Text Society

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

prints the Pali in Roman letters. And when Indian Government Gazettes print names of Indian places and Indian words in Roman letters, this does not alter the words, and ought not to alter the pronunciation.

The use of a common script for all Indian languages and the adoption of a common language are thus two separate questions. The common script may eventually lead to a common language, but there is no necessary connection between the script and the language.

The paper I have the honour to present deals only with the question of a common script—whether English, Esperanto, or Hindi-Urdu, is to be the common language must be a further consideration.

There is a necessity for a common script owing to the great number of Indian alphabets. It is an amazing fact that the Indian Empire has a greater number of alphabets than there are for all the other languages of the world—ancient and modern—put together. Most of the Indian speech-sounds are common to all the languages of India (and also to the languages of Europe), but hardly any of the letters for the same sound have the same form in any two vernaculars. The number of Indian sounds, as represented by the primary letters of the various alphabets, may be put down at about sixty-three.

The necessity for a common script arises, further, from the complicated nature of the Indian alphabets, which are really syllabaries. Dr. Isaac Taylor shows that "writing began with ideograms, which afterwards developed into phonograms. The ideograms are of two kinds—pictures of objects, and pictorial symbols used to suggest abstract ideas. Phonograms are of three kinds—verbal signs, which stand for entire words; syllabic signs, standing for the articulations of which words are composed; and alphabetical letters, representing the elemental sounds into which the syllables can be resolved."

None of the Indian alphabets have arrived at the purely alphabetic stage. The writing in each of the vernaculars

is a most complicated arrangement of symbols, each unit of which is calculated to represent a syllable. In consequence of this there are in each of the vernacular scripts a multitude of compound forms for combinations of consonant and vowels, double consonants, compound consonants, initials, medials, finals, etc., all of which must be mastered before any reading is possible, and all of which require separate types for printing. To learn to read is a very difficult task ; to learn to write is an arduous undertaking ; printing is a laborious and expensive business.

Generally speaking, any one vernacular requires from 500 to 1,000 elaborate types to print. Altogether it is estimated that, though there are only about sixty-three sounds in all the vernaculars put together, which on an alphabetic basis require separate letters, yet from 10,000 to 20,000 of the most elaborate types on earth, (Chinese alone excepted,) are employed to print them.

I have brought for inspection specimens of Indian alphabets, illustrations showing the types for ordinary founts of Sanskrit and Arabic, first-books of Indian languages, lesson sheets, specimens of writing and printing, etc. I suggest that the difficulties of learning to read and write are such as to constitute the greatest intellectual hindrance to the national education of the peoples of the Indian Empire.

Everyone will see what a barrier this babel of 200 languages, 50 alphabets, 20,000 types, must be to progress in every direction—religious, intellectual, social, commercial, and industrial. To give one instance, printing, as a consequence of the numerous complicated types, is very expensive, and makes the price of books in the vernaculars prohibitive for the poorer classes. One firm alone is reported to have spent £300,000 in the preparation of Indian types.

Leaving for future consideration the necessity of a common script for kindred languages, and for consequent intercommunication of thoughts and ideas, the necessity for the sake of commercial intercourse between different parts of the Indian Empire, and between the Indian Empire

and Great Britain and other nations, the necessity for the sake of economical administration and other important points, we will look at the Indian scripts as they affect the question of the illiteracy of the great masses of the peoples of India.

We have seen that the Indian scripts are numerous, that each of them requires a great number of complicated types. It is suggested that these numerous complicated types are the chief cause of the illiteracy of India—not the only cause, but the chief cause.

In reference to syllabic alphabets, Dr. Isaac Taylor writes : " Every system of non-alphabetic writing will either be so limited in its power of expression as to be of small practical value, or it will be so difficult and complicated as to be unsuited to general use. The familiar instances of Egypt, Assyria, and China, are sufficient to prove that without an alphabet any complete system for the graphic representation of speech is an acquirement so arduous as to demand the labour of a lifetime. Under such circumstances science and religion necessarily tend to remain the exclusive property of a sacerdotal caste ; any diffused and extended national culture becomes impossible ; the chasm which separates the ruled from the rulers grows greater and more impassable ; and the art of writing, instead of being the most effective of all means of national progress, becomes one of the most powerful of the instruments by which the masses of mankind can be held enslaved."

We take first the statements of the Indian Census on illiteracy ; (the latest Census is 1901). According to that Census, out of a total population of 294,361,036, there were 277,728,485 illiterates. Out of 90,004,855 males over the age of fifteen, 78,431,214 were illiterates ; and out of 89,241,825 females over fifteen years of age, 88,487,203 could not read their mother tongue. In reference to those over fifteen the census has the remark : " The number of those who first learn to read and write after attaining the age of fifteen is infinitesimal."

The Census shows that in Kashmere only 38 males and 1 female per 1,000 of each sex are able to read and write. In the Central Provinces only 54 males and 2 females per 1,000 of each sex are literate. There are whole castes where the number of women able to read is none, one, two, or three for every 1,000 of the female population.

Did time permit, it could be shown that even this small percentage of literates only partly represents the difficulties which the indigenous scripts present. Probably not half of those reported as being able to read and write can do much more than go slowly over the school-books previously read. The following Census remarks show something of the real state of the masses : "It is an undoubted fact that the classes whom the present system of education affects form but a small proportion of the total population. . . ." "The proportion of the literates to the learning seems very small, and, if correct, can only be explained on the hypothesis that many of those who go to schools fail to derive much benefit from their studies, and either leave before they have learnt to read and write fluently, or else from want of practice again forget what they have learnt. . . ." "On the one hand we find a limited number of castes whose traditional occupation necessitates a knowledge of reading and writing ; on the other hand, the great mass of the people who live by agriculture or manual labour, who for generations have been illiterate, who are regarded by the higher classes as unfit for education, and who are themselves indifferent to its advantages."

According to a statement in the World Missionary Conference, held at Edinburgh last year, it appears that even among the Indian Christians, for whom very special efforts have been made, "out of 2,660,000 no less than 2,300,000 are illiterates."

My own twenty years of missionary experience in India, in charge at one time of 35,000 Indian Christians, leads me to the conclusion of the World's Missionary Conference that "the greatest intellectual hindrance in India is illiteracy,"

and that the chief cause of the illiteracy is the complicated indigenous syllabaries.

The necessity for some simple script applicable to all Indian languages being admitted, the question arises, What should be the one common script for all India?

The East India Association's desire is that the question should be looked at from the point of view of "the interests of the people of India, whose wishes, sentiments, and prejudices, should be respected, so far as these are consistent with moderation and loyalty."

I suggest that the interests of India require that the common script shall be such as will enable India to hold her own in the struggle for nationality, commercial success, mental progress, self-respect, and the respect of other nations. The common script should be the most efficient instrument known for recording thought, and promoting knowledge, and for national and international intercourse.

There are only three alphabets which can form the basis for a national alphabet for India—the Arabic, the Nagari, and the Roman. Let us look at their potentialities.

The Arabic was at first the alphabet of a dialect, being merely a development of the local type of the Aramean alphabet which prevailed at Mecca. To-day the Arabic ranks next to the great Latin alphabet, in regard to its literary importance and its geographical extent. It is now the chief commercial script of the East. It constitutes the official script of three Asiatic Empires, and it has been adapted to the peculiar sounds of languages of the most varied types—Turkic, Persian, Pushtu, Hindustani, and Malay. It is used over regions inhabited by more than one hundred millions of the human race. It is, perhaps, the most widely spread, though not the most used, alphabet in India.

But it is impossible for the Arabic (or Hindustani) alphabet to become the one uniform script of all Indian languages. The Arabic alphabet is almost wholly unknown beyond the limits of its own domains. Although the Arabic

is widely scattered over India, the proportion of people who use it form only a small proportion of the total population. It is rare to meet an educated European who can read an Arabic book.

In respect of enlisting the sympathies and arousing the antipathies, of the peoples of India, the Arabic script would be unacceptable to the great majority of educated and uneducated classes in the Indian Empire.

The Arabic is an exceedingly difficult alphabet to read, to write, and to print. As to the forms of the letters, as Dr. Taylor writes, "it is hardly a paradox to affirm that Arabic has lost its letters. The forms of many of the letters are so undistinguishable that it has been found necessary to invent a whole apparatus of diacritical points to enable the reader to recognize and identify them." Even with the points it is very difficult to read. When written without points, it requires a thorough knowledge of the language before the script can be read.

The difficulty of writing the Arabic or Persian character is notorious. The types required for printing Arabic are numerous. They are troublesome to compose, very liable to breakage, and utterly unsuitable for printing. There are several varieties of the Perso-Arabic script, but they are all difficult for reading, writing, or printing. (See Arabic types, p. 8.)

There is a still greater objection to the Arabic as the one script for all India, arising from the essential principle of the writing. The Arabic is very little better than a syllabic system. It provides chiefly for consonants, as if they were the lords of creation, instead of its dependents, and often its impediments, (see Dr. Taylor's book). The Arabic registers, so to speak, the skeleton or outline of the word. The consonants are given ; the vowels are either indicated by marks over and under the consonants, or are left for the reader to fill in from his knowledge of the language. The essential principle of Arabic is verbal rather than literal. This is quite opposed to the genius of the Sanskrit,

which makes much of the vowels, requiring them to be distinctly recognized, and the rules of their euphonious sequence rigidly observed.

There are also difficulties arising from the difference in the sounds of the Urdu, Persian, Arabic, etc., and those in the Sanskritic and Davidian languages. The Arabic has a number of letters for the faecal breaths, and the gutturo-dentals and sibilants which are characteristic of Semitic

Arabic Printing Types.

ض لا الٰه الا ہے ۚ وَلَا يُشْرِكُ بِهِ ۚ وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِنْ حَسْنَاتِهِ فَمَا
يَرَهُ إِلَّا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ بِهِ شَهِيدٌ ۖ وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِنْ سُوءِهِ فَمَا
يَرَهُ إِلَّا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ بِهِ شَهِيدٌ ۖ ۝

(By kind permission of Wood, Miles and Co., Nottingham.)

speech; but it has no suitable symbols for the Sanskrit vowels, super-stressed aspirates, and cerebrals, which play a very important part in the vernacular tongues.

The one uniform script for all Indian languages ought to provide for the adequate representation of the Arabic and Persian, as well as for the Sanskritic and Dravidian, sounds. But, seeing that the great majority of the Indian vernaculars follow the Sanskrit analysis of speech-sounds, it is the

Sanskrit rather than the Arabic which must form the first basis for an Indian national alphabet.

Can the Nagari become the one script for all the Indian languages ?

Reverting to the principle advocated by the Association that "the interests of the inhabitants of India" are to be the point of view, let us ask the question, Will Indian interests be best served by the adoption of a script which is unknown outside of India ? The adoption of the Nagari could only tend to the isolation of India in respect of the letters used for representing the sounds of human speech. The Nagari is unknown in China or Japan, in Europe, Africa, or America. Even in India it is confined almost solely to one part of the country. It is not used for Bengali, or Orissa, or Assamese, etc., and in South India its use is confined to a few pandits and scholars. If an Indian student comes to England, a knowledge of the Nagari character will be of little or no service to him. He cannot transliterate English or any European language into the Nagari characters even for his own use. Do the interests of India require the entire isolation of India from all the rest of the world in the matter of letters ?

The Nagari is a difficult character to learn to read, and difficult to read when learnt (except, perhaps, to a good reader when printed in a large, clear size of type). As to the length of time taken in learning to read the Nagari character, opinions differ. Taking the Nagari as represented by the similar vernacular scripts, I find that the educational codes generally require a child to spend four or five years in learning to read and write. Judging from the Indian Census reports, the conclusion is irresistible that many who begin to learn go backwards and forget what they have learnt. Thus one Commissioner writes : " However intelligent at school, the majority of boys who have gone through the primary course relapse into illiteracy. The curriculum fails to impress them." Another writer says : " The common people read with difficulty, stopping

to spell words, and repeating over and over again the last two or three words while they are studying out the next." As to Europeans, Professor Monier-Williams writes : "As to the Nagari alphabet, my own experience in teaching it to 600 or 700 students at Haileybury enables me to affirm that it requires at least two months for the most apt scholar to read it fluently, that the majority do not master it in twice that time, and that some, though they know all the letters, never acquire the power to read it without hesitation."

The Nagari is difficult to write. This is admitted by all who have studied the question. So also we may infer from the number of types required for printing.

The Nagari is difficult to print. No fount is complete without six, seven, or eight hundred "sorts" of type. (See Sanskrit [or Nagari] letters, p. 11.) This is the case when Sanskrit alone is concerned. But when using the Nagari for the sounds and letters of other vernaculars, the number of types would have to be considerably increased. One way and another it is estimated that from 1,500 to 2,000 separate and distinct types would be needed for an accurate transliteration into the Nagari character of all the Indian languages. If transliteration into English be included, the number would need still greater increase, but I have never heard of a transliteration of English into Nagari.

The Nagari is sometimes called the Deva-Nagari. But this is a mistake. The Nagari is not a sacred character. According to Professor Max Müller the Vedas were not committed to writing for ages after they were composed. They were committed to memory and handed down by repetition. So also Sir Monier - Williams wrote : "It is remarkable that the whole *vyakarana* of Panini . . . appears to ignore written symbols . . . as if Sanskrit was never intended to have any peculiar graphic system of its own. In South India Sanskrit is written in different characters ; and the first inscriptions found on rocks are in Pali and Prakrit, not in Sanskrit. . . . They are referred to the

Sanskrit (or Nagari) Types.

अ आ । इ ई ई उ ० ऊ ऊ ० ऊ ० ल ० ल ०
ए ० ए ० औ ० औ ० : क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज भ ज
ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व
श ष स ह ठ झ ङ क्त क्त्य ङ्क ङ्क क्म क्य ङ्क ङ्क ङ्क
स्म स्म स्व स्व ख्य ग्य ग्य ग्य ग्य ग्य ग्य ग्य ग्य ग्य
ङ्क
च्य छ्य छ्य ज्य
इ ड्य ट्य द्य र्य
त्क त्त त्य त्त त्य त्त त्य त्य त्य त्य त्य त्य त्य त्य
त्व त्स
द्र द्य
न्य
म्म व्य ज्व व्य
म्म
व्य
स्व
ल्ल ल्ल

१०८५४३२१०

The above is a very incomplete list of the characters one must learn in order to read Sanskrit, etc.

Buddhist Sovereigns who possessed political power in India about three centuries B.C. . . . The present form of Nagari is thought to be little older than the tenth or eleventh century of our era." The power of ancient and sacred association cannot be pleaded for the maintenance of the present Nagari.

There remains only the Roman character to be considered as the "One uniform script for all Indian languages."

Professor Max Müller, in a paper "On the Proper Use of the English Alphabet in transcribing Foreign Languages," writes as follows :

" It is essential . . . to distinguish two things : (1) The proper definition and classification of the principal sounds which occur in language ; (2) The purely practical question how best to express the sounds by existing types, with a proper regard for the place which each holds in the general system of alphabetical sounds.

The most important and most difficult subject is, no doubt, the former. It embraces some of the most interesting problems, and has occupied men of the highest eminence as physiologists and philologists. It alone gives to alphabetic reform a sound basis, and no practical suggestions, however plausible, can claim a hearing which do not rest, in the first instance, on a scientific analysis and classification of alphabetic sounds."

Now, fortunately the analysis and classification of Indian speech-sounds is the most perfect in the world. Ages ago, when England had no letters, the Asoka inscriptions showed a complete scheme. Since then only a few sounds have been added. Nor is the analysis and classification of the Arabic less complete, though the graphic representation is so different.

For all the main vernaculars of India, then, all that is necessary is to take the Sanskrit analysis of speech-sounds, and add to it the sounds of the Arabic, (or Persian), and the basis is at once found for a national Indian alphabet. Such a basis includes all the sounds found in English, the

whole making the basis for a British Imperial alphabet, so far as the sounds to be represented are concerned. The first and most difficult task is completed for us; what about the second?

On this Professor Max Müller writes: "Were we at liberty to frame a new alphabet, there can be little doubt that a very simple alphabet might be contrived in which each letter should tell, as it were, its own story. We should want one general sign to express breath and another to express voice. Each of these signs would be modified to show whether they were meant for emissions of breath or voice, or for checks of breath or voice, and we should then have only to contrive marks for the principle points of contact, and the whole consonantal system would be complete."

"Again, if we take our own alphabet, such as it is, and add to it a number of new types, nothing would be easier than to invent a number of diacritical marks, and thus to have a separate sign, not only for every one of the typical sounds, but for every imaginable variety of them." Here, as I understand, the Professor suggests new types for typical sounds not represented in the ordinary English alphabet, and diacritical marks for the *shades* of sounds.

What Professor Max Müller meant by typical sounds is shown by his approval of Mr. Isaac Pitman's phonotypic alphabet. He writes: "Mr. Pitman's alphabet comprehends the thirty-eight broad *typical* sounds of the English language, and assigns to each of them a definite sign. Then, after a further eulogium, he adds: "Such a system as Mr. Pitman's is perfectly practical."

As to the possibility and practicability of the use of Roman letters for the Indian languages there can be no doubt. The question is, how can such adaptation be best made?

Since Professor Max Müller wrote the paper referred to, the Royal Asiatic Society has elaborated the scheme for supplementing the deficiencies of the ordinary Roman

letters by diacritical marks added to the letters. (See illustration, p. 15.) This scheme has received the approval of the Oriental Congress held at Geneva in 1894. It is practically identical with the scheme of Sir W. W. Hunter, as now used by the Indian Government in the official Gazettes etc., also with the scheme generally used for Roman Urdu, also with the Roman letters in Monier-William's *Sahskrit Dictionary*. The scheme provides for an accurate transliteration of all the Indian languages. There is no doubt that "such a scheme, if adopted, would reduce the labour of education now much increased by the complexity of indigenous graphic systems." In pleading for the adoption of Roman letters, Sir Monier-Williams urges that "Great Britain, as the ruler of India, is bound to give to her unlettered millions of subjects the option of acquiring a simple alphabet." (See *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*.)

The scheme of the Royal Asiatic Society is good, but cannot there be something better? Observe what was done for an Imperial alphabet for India in the ancient days when the Asoka, or Brahma-lipi, of which the present vernacular scripts are merely local varieties, was made. Dr. Cust writes: "The Indian (Asoka) alphabet was in no respect an invention of the peoples of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent the loan they had received from others."

The Asoka alphabet contained forty-two simple letters (thirty-three consonants and nine vowels). Dr. Taylor suggests that the four Indian nasals are differentiations of a single primitive, that the eight cerebrals and dentals resolve themselves into three primitive types, that the nine vowels are derived from only three types, and that the super-stressed aspirates are of secondary origin. The Brahma-lipi, then, was formed for India by adding new letters to an older alphabet. (See the Asoka alphabet, p. 16.)

The Arabic alphabet has six more letters than the Aramean, from which it was derived. The extra letters were formed by adding diacritical marks. Urdu has now forty-nine letters, and, as the extra letters are also formed

Transliteration into Roman Letters of the Sanskrit
and Allied Alphabets by the Royal Asiatic Society.

Adopted by the Oriental Congress, Geneva (1894).

अ a	आ ā	इ i	ई ī	उ u	ऊ ū	ऋ ri
ऋ e	ए ē	ऐ ai	ऐ o	ओ ō	औ au	ओ am
क k	ख kh	ग g	ঘ gh	ঢ় n		
চ c	ছ ch	জ j	ঝ jh	ঢ় n		
ট t̪	ঠ th	ড d̪	ঢ় dh	ণ n		
ত t	ঘ th	দ d	ঘ dh	ন n		
প p	ফ ph	ব b	ঘ bh	ম m		
য y	ৱ r	ল l	ৱ v	ৱ w		
শ ś	ষ s	স s	হ h	ঠ!		
ঁ m̪	ঁ m̪	ঁ h̪	ঁ x̪	ঁ h̪	ঁ s̪	

Transliteration of the Arabic Alphabet,
with Additional Letters in Persian, Turkish, Hindi,
and Pakshtu.

ك k	ه h	ح h	د dj	ج j	ت t	ث t̪	ت t̪	ت t̪	ب b	'
س s	ش sh	س s	ز z	ز z	ر r	,	د d	د d	د d	د d
ق q	ف f	غ g	ع '	ع '	ز z	ظ z̪	ت t̪	ت t̪	د d	ض d̪
ي y	ه h	و w	,	ن n	م m	ل l	ك k			
ن n	ش sh	ن n	غ g	غ g	ز z	ঢ় z̪	চ় চ়	চ় চ়	প প	
ক্ষ ksh	ন্ত nt	ন্ত nt	গ্র gr	গ্র gr	ত্স ts	খ খ	র র	ড ড	ত ত	

For further details see "Transliteration Report," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1896.

THE ASOKA ALPHABET.

THE PRIMARY (OR SIMPLE) LETTERS.

K a	Kā	i	ī	U	ū	()	ṛi
()e	Dē	Dai	()o	Zō	()au	Kam	
+	ka	᳚ kha	Λ ga	᳚ gha	᳚ na		
d	ča	᳚ čha	Σ ja	᳚ jha	᳚ ŋna		
C	ṭa	○ tha	᳚ da	᳚ dha	᳚ ña		
τ	ta	○ tha	᳚ da	᳚ dha	᳚ na		
U	pa	᳚ pha	□ ba	᳚ bha	᳚ ma		
	Y	ya	I	ra	J	la	᳚ va
ऋ	śa	᳚ śa	᳚ sa	᳚ ha	᳚ ḥa	᳚ lā	

EXAMPLES OF MEDIAL VOWELS.

᳚ ka ᳚ kā ᳚ ki ᳚ kī ᳚ ku ᳚ kū ᳚ kē ᳚ kō ᳚ kam
 ᳚ tā ᳚ rā ᳚ nā ᳚ ni ᳚ mī ᳚ nu ᳚ chū ᳚ bhū ᳚ ñē ᳚ ī ᳚ dhō ᳚ sō

EXAMPLES OF CONJUNCT CONSONANTS, Etc.

᳚ ssa	᳚ ssi	᳚ sma	᳚ sta	᳚ sti	᳚ mha	᳚ mhi	᳚ dvē
᳚ vya	᳚ kyā	᳚ kra	᳚ tvā	᳚ bhyu	᳚ dbā	᳚ rva	᳚ jñā

The above illustration gives the forms of the Asoka (or Brahma-lipi) syllabary as shown in ancient inscriptions. But even "the most ancient inscriptions known exhibit many varieties of script—angular and round cursive forms being intermixed sometimes, as at Kalsi, in a single inscription. That means that the alphabet already had a long history. Thus it is not accurate to say that the modern alphabets are derived *directly* from the Asoka script—rather all the forms, new and old, are branches of a lost primeval (*i.e.*, about 800 B.C.) form of Brahma."—VINCENT A. SMITH.

by adding marks, some of the letters have four dots to distinguish them.

There are thus two historical methods which may be used in providing the few extra letters which India requires for the sounds of the various vernaculars—modified letters—diacritical marks. We have the two methods exemplified in our own English alphabet ; thus our capital G is a modified capital C, our U and W are modifications of V, and J is a modified I ; the dot over the small i and j is a diacritical mark.

When Sir Monier-Williams advocated the use of Roman letters for Sanskrit he evidently had in view the possibility of further study contributing better results, for he spoke of “the Roman system still further to be improved hereafter.”

The Royal Asiatic Society’s code is open to the criticism of Professor Max Müller, that “although such systems may be usefully employed for purely scientific purposes, they can never fulfil the practical requirements of a written and printed alphabet.”

Did time permit, almost any amount of testimony from Oriental and English scholars could be brought to show that the use of diacritical marks, over and under letters, can, at best, be regarded as the merest make-shift, unworthy of the Indian and English languages, and unworthy of the scientific analysis and classification of Indian speech-sounds. They are trying to the eyes in reading, they are a great hindrance in writing, and they are unsuitable for printing.

The India Office replied to an inquiry as to why Roman letters are not used in India that “no system of Roman transliteration yet devised has been able to dispense with diacritical marks, which offer many difficulties in writing and printing, the omission of which is avoided when indigenous writing is employed.”

Ordinary Roman letters alone are not sufficient ; diacritical marks are troublesome. Cannot something better be provided for the use of millions of our fellow subjects in the Indian Empire ?

Romanic Letters for Indian Languages.

Romanic letters consist of the Roman alphabet, the Phonotypic letters of Sir Isaac Pitman and Mr. A. J. Ellis, with Romanic letters for the Indian "cerebrals" and the "peculiar Semitic gutturals and sibilants." Pronunciation as *italic* letters in English words.

a	<i>Asia</i>	s	<i>far</i>	i	<i>folio</i>	j	<i>pier</i>	u	<i>pull</i>	q	<i>rule</i>	ə̄	<i>herd</i>
e	<i>pet</i>	ɛ	<i>fete</i>	ai	<i>aisle</i>	o	<i>not</i>	ə̄	<i>note</i>	au	<i>house</i>		
k	<i>king</i>	kh	<i>inkhorn</i>	g	<i>gun</i>	gh	<i>staghorn</i>	ŋ	<i>king</i>				
c	<i>chin</i>	ch	<i>beechhill</i>	j	<i>jar</i>	jh	<i>hedgehog</i>	n̄	<i>banyan</i>				
t̄	<i>art</i>	th̄	<i>carthorse</i>	d̄	<i>hard</i>	dh̄	<i>hardhead</i>	n̄	<i>earm̄</i>				
t̄	<i>tea</i>	th̄	<i>ant hill</i>	d̄	<i>den</i>	dh̄	<i>adhere</i>	n̄	<i>tenant</i>				
p̄	<i>pea</i>	ph̄	<i>uphill</i>	b̄	<i>bee</i>	bh̄	<i>abhor</i>	m̄	<i>lamb̄</i>				
ȳ	<i>yea</i>	r̄	<i>rice</i>	l̄	<i>land</i>	v̄ or w̄	<i>wave</i>						
ʃ̄	<i>ship</i>	ſ̄	<i>harsh</i>	s̄	<i>sin</i>	h̄	<i>hand</i>						
ɖ̄	<i>curl</i>	ʈ̄	<i>Tamil̄</i>	r̄	<i>hurry</i>	n̄	<i>oven</i>						
ə̄	<i>alif</i>	j̄	<i>ain</i>	ḡ	<i>ḡhain</i>	h̄	<i>he</i>	x̄	<i>loch</i>	t̄	<i>toe</i>	z̄	<i>zoe</i>
ʈ̄	<i>tsad̄</i>	ɖ̄	<i>dzad̄</i>	ʃ̄	<i>think</i>	ɖ̄	<i>then</i>	z̄	<i>dead̄</i>	ʒ̄	<i>azure</i>	f̄	<i>deaf̄</i>
												q̄	<i>qaf̄</i>

¹ For capital letters see Pitman's Phonotypic Alphabet, Ellis's "Essentials of Phonetics," etc.

Romanic Script for Indian Languages.

Any vernacular or dialect in the Indian Empire may be readily written in Romanic script. "Cerebrals" are uniformly distinguished from the corresponding dentals by the initial twirl.

<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>ə</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ai</i>		<i>O</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>au</i>	
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>			<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
<i>g</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ch</i>			<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>			<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>		
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>			<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>		
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>ph</i>			<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>		
						<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>		
						<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>		
						<i>ɿ</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>		
						<i>θ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>t̪</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>z̪</i>	<i>z̪</i>	<i>θ̪</i>	<i>θ̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>z̪</i>	<i>z̪</i>	<i>z̪</i>	<i>z̪</i>	<i>f̪</i>	<i>g̪</i>

For the script capital letters see the Phonotypic Alphabet, Ellis's "Essentials of Phonetics," etc.

In past times nations in taking over alphabets used by other nations have extended and modified the letters to suit their own needs. The additional symbols required have been found in various ways. Sometimes there were superfluous letters in the original alphabet which were used for approximate sounds, sometimes additional symbols were taken from neighbouring alphabets, sometimes they were evolved by differentiation of the forms of letters, and sometimes the new letters arose out of ligatures.

During the past fifty years the study of phonetics has made great advances. Letters for phonetic alphabets have been evolved. The best results are found in the phonotypic letters of Sir Isaac Pitman and Mr. A. J. Ellis. These letters embody not only the result of the studies and experiments of Pitman and Ellis, but of many others who stood or stand in the foremost ranks of the philologists and phonologists of Queen Victoria's reign. The new letters have stood the tests of the letter-artist, the punch-cutter, the type-founder, the printer, the penman, and the reader. They are presented in a form not only available for books, but for every purpose of commerce.

It is suggested that by adding to the ordinary Roman letters the phonotypic letters of Pitman and Ellis (with Romanic letters used in dictionaries for special Indian sounds) a Romanic code of letters, easy to read, to write, and to print, can be formed which is applicable to all the languages and dialects of India, as well as providing a phonetic representation for English. (See Romanic letters and Romanic script, pp. 18 and 19.)

The complete scheme is seen on the post cards distributed to-day which show the forms of the printing letters, the corresponding script, and the pronunciation.

The pronunciation suggested for the Roman letters is the Latin or Continental one, (practically the same as used for Esperanto).

The Sanskrit and Latin languages are derived from a common source. Their alphabets, though one is

characterized by an excess of elaboration, and the other marked by an extreme of simplicity, are capable of mutual adjustment and assimilation both as regards the powers of the letters and their classification. As Sir Monier-Williams remarks, "After all, a Brahmin and an Englishman are offshoots from the same Indo-European stock, as their languages can testify." Many of their household words have the same roots. Both Indians and Britons would save themselves enormous trouble and gain immense benefits by using the same common alphabet to express their respective languages. Let the Roman letters be the basis, and let it be supplemented as suggested, so as to secure at once accuracy of transliteration, and possibility of phonetic representation, and the greatest hindrances from the Indian side and the British side to mutual intelligibility will be removed. With a common character Indians will learn more of English, and English more of Indian languages, and the mutual good understanding between the two races will be greatly promoted.

And if such benefits can be secured, whilst at the same time reading, writing, and printing in the Indian vernaculars are made easier than anywhere in the world, ought they not to be sought?

Consider the benefit a Romanic alphabet would be to Indian and English education. The phonetic alphabet of Sir Isaac Pitman bade fair at one time to prove a success. The movement had the support of the best English scholars and many eminent men. The reason why the phonotypic alphabet was not as successful as the phonographic shorthand is well known to those in the inner circle. I believe it has only been hindered for a time. However that may be, "careful experiments with the phonotypic alphabet for English proved, (1) that pupils may be taught to read books in phonetic print in from ten to forty hours, and will attain fluency after a few weeks' practice; (2) that after attaining fluency in reading phonetic print a very few lessons will give them the same fluency in

Transliteration Table—Malayalam and Romanic.

Malayalam has all the Sanskrit sounds, so that what will serve for Malayalam will serve for Sanskrit. Malayalam has also letters for the short *e*, and short *o*, and three extra sounds, two for *r* and one for *l*, not used in Sanskrit.

reading ordinary English ; (3) that the whole time necessary for both phonetic and ordinary reading does not exceed eight months, for children of average intelligence, between four and five years of age, taught half an hour each day in school ; (4) that those taught in this manner acquire the art of ordinary spelling more readily than those instructed on the old method."

Now, as the Indian vernaculars are, in the main, spelled phonetically, let Indian friends consider the gain of boys of five years of age being able to learn to read their vernacular in ten to forty hours, and of then being able to learn to read English in phonetic letters with the same letters, having the same sounds, and then of easily passing from the phonetic to the ordinary English spelling.

As to teachers for the Romanic letters for the millions of illiterates in India these are at once available. According to the Indian Census there were 1,125,231 persons "literate in English" (inclusive of Europeans and English). Anyone who can speak an Indian vernacular and read the ordinary Roman letters will be able to read the vernacular in Romanic letters after five minutes study of the scheme. Every instruction necessary for this purpose can be printed on a post card. (See specimen Transliteration Table—Malayalam and Romanic, p. 22.)

The average number of Romanic letters required for any one vernacular is only thirty-seven, and as no capital letters need be used, and half the letters have similar letters for similar sounds, the task of learning to read is made so easy that ten half-hour lessons are sufficient for the introduction of an Indian illiterate to reading his mother tongue in such wide-world-known simple letters. (See large type Romanic letters, and Introductory lessons, pp. 24 and 25).

With the transliteration tables an Indian, knowing only the vernacular script, will be able to teach an illiterate the powers of the Romanic letters, and so enable him to read ; for, all the illiterate needs to begin reading is to know the sounds of the Romanic letters for his vernacular, and by

Romanic Letters required for Malayalam.

a s i j u u
ə e ε o θ - , *
k g ŋ c j n
t d ɳ t d n
p b m y r l v
ʃ ʂ s h d ʂ r

The same types with the same sounds will also serve for Sanskrit and Pali, for Sinhalese, for Telugu, for Gujarati, and the vernaculars using alphabets allied to Sanskrit; in short, for the main vernaculars of India.

**Specimens of Introductory Lessons in the
“Romanic” Malayalam Alphabet.**

The whole course for an illiterate is only ten such lessons.

1. a s n m
 a s na ns ma ms
 a s am sm an en ami ma amma
 a na a ma a ma ns m nem ms n msn
 ns mam nemam ma nam manam ms nam manam
 a ns. a sma. a amma. a nemam. a manam.

7. c ñ ï r (നി റി)
 cesta celi joca ucca koccu qan kuñdu qayam
 meñja tañjañai qaqhañai teñja aña uña keñru neñri
 tiqhañai aña entu pantu pampu aqñine enre
 etca kercia terca ennañe qan cila vittu viteccu.

After the seventh lesson simple reading lessons can easily be read.
The following, the Parable of the Sower, is an example :—

vitekkunnavanje upama.
 its, vitekkunn'-avan viteppen puja-pettu. vitekkum-
 pori cilatu vari arike vjnu, paçavakal vannu, atine
 tinnu kaðanju. cilatu peça-itattil epe mann'-illetta
 itattu vjnu, manninnu tsica illesyksyl utane muleccu
 vannu, veiyil irunn'-epe cetu tatti, ver illeykayal
 atu unapji peyi, marru cilatu muñlukalil vjnu,
 muñlukalil muleccu valarnnu atine perukki kaðanju.
 marru cilatu nulla nilattil vjnu, onnu nqrum onnu
 arupatum onnum muppatum-syi ksykku kotukkayum
 ceytu. cevi-ullavan keikkatte.

putting them together to recognize in print the words he already knows in speech.

The adoption of Romanic letters is in the direct line of the progress of the world. As I write this paper I read that Germans are urging "that the Roman or Latin letters shall *alone* be taught in the schools for the first three years of school instruction." In German East Africa Swahili is being taught compulsorily in Roman letters. In Malay newspapers are being printed in Roman letters. The International Phonetic Association is using an alphahet based on Roman and phonotypic letters. Esperanto uses Roman letters. Roman and phonotypic letters are being used in books printed by University Presses, and in courses of study at Universities and Teachers Training Colleges. And as pronunciation comes to be regarded, as it ought to be regarded, as of even more importance than spelling, Roman and Romanic letters will come to be more and more used for dictionaries, lesson books, etc.

It is suggested that the Indian Government should be influenced to grant—

1. That a Linguistic Commission be appointed to take counsel with the leaders of India, educationalists, oriental scholars, and others, to inquire into the practicability of a national alphabet for all Indian languages based on the Roman letters.

2. That the Roman or Romanic scheme so settled upon should be allowed *optional* use in schools and public offices.

So far as India is concerned, the above would win general acceptance for an *optional* national alphabet. But our educational authorities might well go farther, and it is suggested that the whole subject might well form one of the questions to be discussed at the forth-coming Educational Conference, so that eventually there may be evolved an Imperial alphabet for the whole British Empire.

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR.*

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE third and concluding volume of Colonel Hanna's history of the second Afghan War is occupied with the events of the second year and second campaign of the war, which, after its temporary suspension by the treaty of Gundamuk, was renewed in consequence of the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and the other members and attendants of the British Legation at Kabul in September, 1879. It furnishes us with a clear and at the same time a detailed narrative of Sir Frederick Roberts's operations in his advance through the Kurram on Kabul, the battle at Charasiab, the deposition of Yakub Khan, and the occupation of Kabul by the British force; the reopening of the Khyber line of communication; the unexpected rising of the Afghans under the leadership of Mushk-i'Alam and Muhammad Ján, who reoccupied Kabul and compelled the British to retreat within their entrenchments at Sherpur; the subsequent dispersal of the tribal gathering, and the state of anarchy prevailing throughout Afghanistan; Sir Donald

(*.) "The Second Afghan War, 1878-79-80: its Causes, its Conduct, and its Consequences." By Colonel H. B. Hanna, during the last part of the war on Army Headquarters Staff in charge of all matters connected with the campaign; late commanding at Delhi; author of "Indian Problems," "Defence of India," etc. With nine maps. Vol. iii. London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 10, Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C., 1910.

Stewart's march from Kandahar to Kabul, and 'Ayúb Khán's march from Herat upon Kandahar; the defeat of General Burrows's brigade at Maiwand, and the subsequent siege of Kandahar by 'Ayúb Khán; Sir Frederick Roberts's forced march from Kabul to its relief, and his decisive victory over 'Ayúb Khán's army; the return of the refugee Prince 'Abdur Rahmán Khán from Russian-Turkistan, and his assumption of government at Kabul with the consent and connivance of the Indian Government; and, finally, the complete withdrawal of the British forces from Afghan territory, and the resumption of the state of relations existing between the two Governments previous to the war. Colonel Hanna is a master in the art of writing military history, and his account of the operations fulfils the difficult task of being at the same time comprehensive and concise, and gives the reader a clear and convincing picture of the events described. His opinions upon these events have the advantage of being committed to writing long after their occurrence, and it is easy to be wise after the event. His criticisms of the Afghan policy of the Indian Government are unsparing of condemnation, but the relations between a civilized Power and a barbarian State must always be precarious, and the diametrical divergence between the ethical standards and the political ideals of Europe and Asia tend to make a complete understanding of each other's purposes and a cordial co-operation with each other's policy wellnigh impossible of realization. It is open to question whether Lord Auckland's and Lord Lytton's injudicious interference, or Lord Lawrence's masterly inactivity exercised the more mischievous influence on the minds of our inconvenient neighbours.

The problem of the future of Afghanistan is deserving of the attention of all Englishmen interested in the welfare of our Indian Empire and in Eastern questions generally. It is the only really independent Musalman State that still survives out of the many once powerful and flourishing empires and kingdoms that arose out of the ruins of the

Arabian Caliphate. All the other countries of the "Dárlíl Islam" have submitted to the tutelage, or have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great Powers of Europe, exercised either separately or collectively. The Ambassadors of these Powers are all-powerful at Constantinople and at Teheran ; their representatives discuss the affairs of Morocco in conference, and impose the conclusions they have arrived at on an unwilling but submissive Sultan. All the other Moslem States of Africa, from Algiers to Egypt, and from Sokoto to Zanzibar, are in the occupation or under the protectorate of Great Britain or France. The Khanates of Central Asia own the suzerainty of the Czar ; the Native States of India and of the Malayan Peninsula acknowledge the authority of England. Only in the inaccessible deserts of Central Arabia and in the equally inaccessible mountains of Afghanistan does the law of Islam still override the laws which govern the international relations of the modern world. And in the case of the latter country its ruler can scarcely be described as quite independent, since he receives an annual subsidy from the Government of British India, subject to the condition of his abstaining from opening up diplomatic relations with foreign Powers. However, he and his nation regard this subsidy rather as a tribute wrung from the fears of the Indian Government, or as blackmail paid to them to abstain from annoying us ; and we may rest assured that the receipt of a subsidy, or any other favour at our hands, will not weigh in the balance with them against any interest or advantage which they might conceive themselves to have or to gain by opposing us in the future ; the guns given by our Government to the Amir Sher Ali were used against us at Maiwand. But in our dealings with the Amir and the Afghans we have always had regard solely to our own interests, without any consideration for theirs ; and it is idle to expect them to act otherwise.

Besides being the only independent Muhammadan State, Afghanistan is the youngest member of the body politic of Islam. Its tribes long ago gave ruling dynasties to India,

but the Afghan Kings sat on the throne of Delhi and the country of their origin was only an outlying province of their empire. Until the middle of the eighteenth century Afghanistan in Asia, like Italy in Europe, was only a geographical expression. The country was fairly divided between the empires of India and Persia, Kabul belonging to the former, and Herat and Kandahar to the latter. The Mogul Emperors of India sometimes took up their summer quarters in their provincial city of Kabul, and the founder of their dynasty, Baber, was buried there. The Afghan tribes maintained much the same relations with the Ordú Humayún, or Imperial Camp, as the Highland clans did with the Court of the Stuart Kings at Holyrood. Their chiefs paid occasional visits to the Court as suitors or hostages, while the tribesmen furnished contingents to the Imperial armies, and plundered the baggage of their suzerain when a favourable opportunity presented itself during the migration of the Court from summer to winter quarters. Abul Fazl, the learned Vazir of the Emperor Akbar, complains of the insolence of the "Afághina-i Mul'aina" (accursed Afghans) who had dared to molest the rearguard of the Imperial cortège during its passage through the Khyber. The British arms have at least accomplished what the most powerful of the Mogul Emperors of India never could do—they have penetrated into the Tirah Valley, and curbed the insolence of the Afridi in his natural fortress among his native mountains.

It was the rebellion of its Afghan subjects that overthrew the Suffavi Dynasty, which had ruled over Persia for more than two centuries. The revolt was caused by the intolerable tyranny of Gurgín Khán, a Georgian renegade, whom the Shah had appointed to be Governor of Kandahar. This man had remained a Christian at heart, and gratified his secret spite against his new religion by persecuting the Sunni Afghans under the cloak of zeal for the doctrine of his Shiya patrons; just as the Circassian troopers in the Russian service indulge their hatred of Christianity by

ill-using its professors in the persons of Polish patriots, while at the same time they earn the approbation and rewards of their Russian masters. Gurgín Khán's oppression roused the tribes around Kandahar to rebel and throw off the yoke of the alien and the schismatic Persians : they combined for a common purpose, and found themselves to be a nation.

Nadir Shah again reduced the Afghans to obedience, and again planted Persian garrisons in Herat and Kandahar ; moreover, he annexed the Indian Subah of Kabul, and so brought all Afghanistan under one government. He highly valued the Afghans as soldiers, and employed a large contingent of them in his army, and after his murder the commander of this contingent, by name Ahmad Abdali, of the Sudozai clan of Afghans, seized on the artillery and all the effects of his defunct master that he could lay hands on, including much treasure and the famous Kohinúr diamond, with which he and his men made off to Kandahar, leaving the Persians to settle their own affairs as they best could. All the Afghans rallied round the standard of the fortunate captain, who proclaimed himself King of Afghanistan in his native city of Kandahar, and found nobody to dispute his claim, backed as it was by troops, guns, and treasure. Thus was the foundation laid of the present Afghan State and Nation.

Ahmad Shah was the first of four successive Kings of his family, each of them, as is usually the case of Oriental dynasties, inheriting the virtues of the founder in an ever-diminishing ratio, until the fourth and last, Shah Shujá'a, had no kingly quality left in his character save that of overweening pride in his royal dignity. The monarchy had by this time become unpopular with the people, and the Shah was driven from the throne by a revolution headed by a band of brothers of the Barakzai clan, the junior branch of the royal Abdali or Duráni tribe, of whom Dost Muhammad was the chief leader. It was at this juncture that the British Government in India first

opened up relations with the Court of Kabul, and Alexander Burnes was entrusted with a mission to the Amir, as Dost Muhammad styled himself, for the experience which the Afghans had endured of regal tyranny had inspired them with a dislike of the titles of royalty. But the Amir also gave audience to a Russian Envoy, and the Governor-General and his Council, in their alarm at the prospect of a possible Russian approach to India, unfortunately determined to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Still more unfortunately, they "put their money on the wrong horse," and decided to assist the unpopular Shah Shujá'a to recover his lost throne. They vainly imagined that he could fill the part of a Nizam in the Deccan or a Nawwáb in Oude, and that they could make of Kabul another Lucknow or Hyderabad. They were probably deceived by the misrepresentations of Shah Shujá'a and his adherents as to the real feelings of the Afghan people; they certainly entirely misunderstood their temper and character. This unlucky step made an irreparable breach between the English in India and their Afghan neighbours which no subsequent policy has proved effectual to repair, and created an inveterate hostility to us in the minds of the Afghan people which our later intercourse with them has, unfortunately, not tended to allay. The second Afghan War had a more justifiable origin than the first, for the Amir Sher Ali had given us ample provocation. After receiving our favours and our benefactions for many years he had planned an alliance with Russia against us, had received a Russian Envoy in his capital, and had refused to receive an English one. We could not have overlooked such an insult without a total loss of prestige among our Asiatic subjects and neighbours, but we should have confined our operations to the punishment of a faithless ally, and have been warned by our previous experience not to attempt the fruitless task of establishing our influence over a reluctant and revengeful nation. But it was hard to discriminate between the Prince and the People, and though

we professed to treat the latter as our friends, they suspected our professions, and preferred that we should treat them as enemies, and by their behaviour forced us to conform to their conduct.

Colonel Hanna, who is a declared opponent of the "Forward Policy," draws the following parallel between the causes and the conduct of the first and second Afghan Wars :

" History nowhere presents a closer parallel than that which exists between the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Afghan War of 1838-42, and the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Afghan War of 1878-80. Both had their origin in the fear of Russia, yet neither had Russia for its object. Each was begun under a fatal misconception as to its character, cost, and probable duration. Each, though in intention directed solely against a Prince, became in its progress a struggle with a people. Each ran a long and chequered course, and was marked by incidents little creditable to British honour and British humanity. Each closed with a march which surrounded political failure with a halo of military success, and gave an air of freedom to an inevitable retreat. Each left behind it, to the people of India, a legacy of indebtedness and poverty—to the people of Afghanistan a legacy of bitter memories and deep distrust of British promises. Each failed of its object—nay, more than failed—for instead of establishing on the throne of Kabul a sovereign devoted to British interests, the one ended in the restoration of the able Prince to depose whom it had been begun, and the other in the nomination to the Amirship of the last man on whom, from its own point of view, the choice of the Indian Government should have fallen, because the man apparently most likely to prefer Russia's influence to that of Great Britain."

But the sojourn of Abdur Rahmán Khán at Samarkand does not seem to have inspired him with any degree of esteem or affection for his Russian hosts, and the experience undergone by the ill-fated Sher Ali Khán was sufficient to prove to the Afghans that at any rate British promises

were quite as much to be relied upon as Russian pledges.

Lord Lytton's Afghan policy is a fair object for our author's trenchant criticisms ; that volatile Viceroy was a good diplomatist, but a bad statesman ; if two courses of policy were open to his choice, he was pretty certain to choose the wrong one. It is a curious circumstance that India should have been indebted to the choice of the same British Premier, Lord Beaconsfield, for the appointment of the best and worst Viceroys that ever guided her destinies —the Earl of Mayo and Lord Lytton.

Colonel Hanna seldom allows a slip on the part of any in authority to escape his critical notice ; but he has not alluded to the serious error committed in the inclusion of Sikhs and other non-Musalman soldiers in the escort of the British Embassy at Kabul. The presence of such men was certain to excite irritation among the bigoted Afghans, and to aggravate the hostility which they already felt at the presence of Europeans and infidels at Kabul.

The accounts of the attack on the Residency show that these Hindu soldiers were the especial objects of the fury of the populace. It would have been a quite easy and natural measure to have detailed only Musalman soldiers for a duty which involved contact with a fanatical and excitable population of that militant faith ; but perhaps it would be too much to expect our army administration at Simla, fettered by the bonds of routine and red-tape, and overwhelmed by a multitude of petty details, to take note of such matters as the peculiarities and prejudices of the multifarious races and nationalities which our Indian Empire furnishes us with as fighting men and as foes on our frontiers. Only the other day, when 200 men were wanted to complete the contingent of Indian troops employed in British East Africa, volunteers from our Rajput regiments were called for, though the prejudices of such men against oversea service are firmly established and well known. It is hardly to be wondered at that not 100 Rajputs answered

to the call, and the rest of the draft had to be made up of men of other races and castes.

It seems strange that with so many native soldiers who are willing and even happy to serve abroad, the Government should select for oversea service the very men to whom such service is obnoxious on religious grounds.

Another instance of a similar want of discrimination lately occurred in the treatment of the Mapila levies. The Mapilas are inhabitants of the south-west coast of India, originally bred from Arab sires and Indian mothers, whence their name, which signifies "Mother's sons." They are braver and physically a finer race than most of the people of Southern India, but from religious and other prejudices they had not hitherto enlisted in our military service. It was decided to make the experiment of employing them, and two battalions were raised from among them, to make room for which in the Army List one of the best Madras regiments, the regiment which had been selected in 1878 to proceed with the Indian contingent to Malta, was disbanded. The reluctance of the Mapilas to quit their homes was well known, and if the experiment of enlisting them was to prove a success, it was absolutely necessary to quarter them on their native soil till they should have grown accustomed to their new condition. But no sooner were they embodied than they were sent to the North of India, where the climate and food were such as they were totally unaccustomed to, and under these conditions they were condemned as inefficient soldiers. Had our British War Office acted on such grounds we should have had no Highland regiments in our army at this day, for the Highlanders when first enlisted strongly objected to proceeding beyond seas, and it was only after some years' experience of our military service, and after some mutinies, that they became reconciled to it.

Colonel Hanna is prodigal of criticism on the strategical and tactical operations of Sir Frederick Roberts and Sir Donald Stewart, and of observations on the mistakes which

were, in his opinion, committed by these two commanders. We know that in war the victory is gained by the General who makes the fewest mistakes, and it is easy for the arm-chair critics, with an after-knowledge of the facts, and full information of the strength and position of the contending forces, and of the final result of the operations, to form an opinion of what should or should not have been done, and to find fault with the dispositions of the General who is in the dark as to the strength and the intentions of his enemy, and whose only information as to the unknown and unmapped country which is the scene of his operations is derived from hasty reconnaissance and from the untrustworthy reports of reluctant and hostile inhabitants.

After relating General Roberts' audacious advance with his small force to Kabul to avenge the murder of Cavagnari, Colonel Hama writes :

"A grateful country may on such an occasion pour forth its titles and its honours, not making men's merits the measure of its bounty ; but it will, nevertheless, act wisely in remembering that war has its principles, and that to hazard, heedless of military prudence, soldiers' lives and a country's fame upon a gamester's throw is to court a stern rebuke."

Colonel Hanna's stern rebuke of Lord Roberts for faulty strategy reminds us of the complaints of the Austrian adversaries of the young Napoleon Buonaparte in his Italian campaign, who complained that he had most unfairly worsted them by ignoring the recognized principles of strategy and rules of tactics. A General should be judged by the results he obtains, not by the processes he employs.

Sir Frederick was very well conscious of the risks he so cheerfully undertook, as was his staff officer, Charles Macgregor, who wrote at the time in his diary : "Roberts' luck will carry him through, but we are playing a risky game." Roberts' luck, which carried him through all difficulties and over all obstacles, was compounded of boldness tempered by prudence, a wise judgment, an accurate

knowledge of what he could expect from his own soldiers, and a shrewd guess at the probable action of his enemy.

Like all men he made mistakes, which he afterwards frankly acknowledged. Colonel Hanna blames him for having divided his small force into three columns to suppress the tribal rising under *Mushk-i 'Alam* and *Muhammad Ján*, and for under-estimating its character and importance. Lord Roberts thus writes in his autobiography :

" Up till noon on the 14th I had no idea of the extraordinary number they are able to bring together, and I had no reason to believe that it would be possible for them to cope with disciplined troops; but the manner in which the conical hill had been retaken gave me a more correct idea of their strength and determination, and shook my confidence in the ability of my comparatively small force to resist the ever-increasing hordes on ground which gave every advantage to numerical superiority."*

The perusal of the author's criticisms of the operations round Kabul in December, 1879, has the effect of enhancing our admiration for the talents of the General who surmounted difficulties and dangers by measures which, in Colonel Hanna's expert opinion, should have insured his failure. Such failure as there was—failure to hold the city of Kabul and the *Bala Hissar*—was not the fault of the General, but of the Government which sent him on a hazardous and dangerous enterprise with an insufficient force inadequately equipped. But the mania for financial economy which seems to attack a British Government every time it enters upon one of the frontier wars in which the extent of our Empire continues to involve us, leads to the initial employment of an insufficient number of troops—an error that has invariably to be repaired later on at a proportionally enhanced rate of expenditure. The smallness of Sir Frederick Roberts' army caused the abandonment of Kabul, temporarily at least, to the victorious tribesmen, and with it the exposure of the unfortunate Hindu mercantile

* "Forty-One Years in India," vol. ii., p. 291.

colony and the Kizilbash community* to the resentment and ill-treatment of the Afghans, and of the British nation to the reproach of being unable to protect its friends from the vengeance of its enemies.

The skill with which Sir Frederick Roberts conducted the defence of Sherpur in the critical position in which he found himself makes a sharp contrast with the incapacity of the leaders opposed to him. Had they marched straight upon the British cantonment on the day that they defeated General Massy's small force in the field, they would have found the defences weak and the garrison totally inadequate to hold them. But they turned aside to occupy and to plunder Kabul, and gave Sir Frederick Roberts time, which he employed to good purpose in concentrating his troops and strengthening his fortifications. And with their overwhelming superiority of numbers they might easily have completely severed his communications with India, a necessary measure, which one would have thought obvious to the meanest capacity, but which they hardly attempted, and never achieved. The dearth of military genius among the Asiatic races in modern times is complete and universal, and is another instance of the general decadence, like some kind of mysterious dry-rot, which has infected the whole body politic of Islam. No military leader of conspicuous talent has arisen among Musalman peoples since the days

* The Kizilbashes (Golden-heads or Red-heads) are the descendants of the Persian soldiers garrisoning the country in former times, and in the reign of Nadir Shah. The five Turkish Shiya tribes, which formed the ruling body and military caste in Persia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, were called Kizilbásh, from their peculiar head-dress which is still worn by their descendants in Afghanistan, though it and the name derived from it have both fallen into disuse in Persia. Oriental historians of the Middle Ages always call the Persians "Kizilbáshia." Being aliens and eccentrics in Afghanistan, the Kizilbashes generally favoured our occupation of the country, as also did the Hazaras, another alien and sectarian race, the remainder of the corps of occupation which the conquering Amir Timur kept on foot in Afghanistan. All these unfortunate people suffered severely at the hands of the Afghans after we had left the country, for having afforded us assistance and enjoyed our friendship.

of Nadir Shah. Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt was a good soldier, but he was indebted for the plan of his campaigns to his French staff officers. The Turkish army has been reorganized by the labours of German experts, and is only kept in working order by their supervision. The formidable army of the Khalsa was formed by Allard, Avitabile, Ventura, and other European adventurers, and when they were withdrawn no Sikh or other Asiatic could be found to control or direct the force. The attempts of successive Amirs of Afghanistan to improve the military forces and increase the military strength of their country have only resulted in diminishing it. That strength lies in the tribal organization and in the spirit of its members ; but the rulers have not the wit to see this, but try to substitute for it a regular army organized on a system based upon social and political conditions totally different to those obtaining in Afghanistan. The result is failure ; the Afghan regular soldier, paid and trained by the State, is inferior as a fighting man to his untrained and ill-armed brother who gives unrequited service to his tribal chief. The regular army is, however, useful to the Amir as enabling him to oppress the country which it is powerless to defend. It was the untrained, undisciplined, unorganized, and ill-armed tribal levies who forced Sir Frederick Roberts to retire within his lines at Sherpur, and it was the Gházis who imperilled Sir Donald Stewart's position at Ahmed Khel, and who broke the British line at Maiwand. Colonel Hanna, writing of Sir George (then Major) White and his Gordon Highlanders at the Battle of Charasiab, says : " Had the forces opposed to them been composed of tribesmen fighting in the way natural to mountaineers, they would probably have been overwhelmed. Luckily their opponents were sepoys just sufficiently trained to have forgotten their old tactics, but not disciplined enough to profit by the vantage conferred on them by their numbers and the strength of their artillery ; so the interval, during which victory might have been theirs remained unused, and when White, observing that Baker's attack was making

good progress, ordered a general advance, their opportunity had gone for ever.

The charges of cruelty and inhumanity brought against Lord Roberts in this volume would be better suited to the mouth of a French anti-militarist or of a disciple of Count Tolstoy than to the pen of a soldier. Wars are not waged with rose-water, and especially is it difficult to apply the rules which govern the conduct of war between civilized nations to a barbarous enemy, who imputes clemency to weakness and forbearance to fear. The Oriental adores force, and it appears to his mind to be the only legitimate source of power and authority. Representative government means to him that the ruler represents God, not that he represents the people. An Afghan honours mercy as an attribute of the Divinity, but hardly looks for it in a human being, much less exercises it himself. Put a whip into his hand, and he will proceed to use it on the first animate object from whose resentment or retaliation he has nothing to fear that crosses his path.

At this day in Kabul a man who has the misfortune to fall under the Amir's displeasure is, without inquiry or trial, blown from a gun—a punishment that, in the vulgar opinion of his fellows, deprives him of a future as well as of the present life. But such severity arouses no resentment, only fear, among the people. The severities of English martial law at Kabul could scarcely have increased the dislike with which we were already regarded. The shooting of prisoners and the burning of villages are acts repugnant to the humane soldier, but on occasion are as necessary in war as the killing of an enemy. The Germans, who scrupulously observed the rules of warfare, in 1870-71 shot every French civilian caught defending his country in arms, and burned every house and every village from which shots were fired at their troops. When we are opposed by an enemy who murders every wounded soldier and every unarmed camp-follower who falls into his clutches, we cannot be expected to deal very tenderly with his susceptibilities, or to scrupulously observe the rules which

govern civilized warfare, of which he is not only ignorant, but utterly contemptuous. But Lord Roberts' reputation for justice and humanity is too well known to need defence here.

The discrepancies adduced by Colonel Hanna between passages in Lord Roberts' published despatches, penned at the time that the events described occurred, and other passages in his autobiography referring to the same events, may very well be ascribed to a fuller knowledge subsequently gained, or to a recollection impaired by the lapse of twenty years, and in no way detract from the general accuracy of the despatches and the memoirs. Few men could be found to retail the events that occurred in their lives twenty years previously with absolute fidelity of detail.

The Battle of Maiwand was the only pitched battle fought during the war (unless Ahmad Khel might be called so), for in all the other engagements one side or the other clung to entrenchments or to strong defensive positions. On that disastrous day a brigade of 2,000 British and native troops of all arms, with twelve guns, was opposed to an Afghan army of 10,000 regular troops, and from 15,000 to 20,000 tribesmen and Gházis, including a numerous cavalry, with thirty guns. The false strategy, which was responsible for the dangerously - exposed position of the brigade, far from its base, in the midst of a hostile population, and in the face of a vastly superior force, was due to political reasons; but the disastrous consequences might perhaps have been averted had General Burrows boldly assumed the offensive at the outset, and advanced his line, covered in front by skirmishers, and on the flanks by his cavalry, to charge the Afghan infantry and guns with the bayonet. But he kept his troops inactive in their position for hours, while the artillery duel was proceeding, in which our guns were overmatched by Ayub Khán's superior artillery, and the overwhelming numbers of the enemy had enabled him to encircle both our flanks, and the Afghans at last plucked up sufficient courage to attack. Though General Burrows cannot be acquitted of faulty dispositions and tactical

errors, Colonel Hanna pays a warm tribute to the courage and devotion displayed by him in conducting and protecting the retreat of his routed troops.

The conduct of our military operations in the second Afghan War might aptly be compared to the game of "puss in the corner": Sir Donald Stewart with his army marched from Kandahar to Kabul, and then Sir Frederick Roberts marched with *his* army from Kabul to Kandahar. But after all the faulty speculations and inadequate preparations of our military administration, the skill of our Generals and the courage of our soldiers overcame all difficulties; and the decisive victory gained by Lord Roberts over Ayub Khán near Kandahar furnished a brilliant closing scene to the drama of the war. Similarly our blundering policy, with its alternate fits of vigour and vacillation, reached a more fortunate climax than could have been expected in the recognition of Abdur Rahmán Khán as Amir of Afghanistan, and so insuring that that country should be at least strong and united, if not, as we had hoped, friendly. Under his stern control the people of Kabul may well have looked back with regret to the reign of martial law under the rule of Lord Roberts. But the Afghan, like the wolf in the fable, would choose to risk the dangers of despotism rather than accept the restraints of civilization.

What is to be the future of Afghanistan? How long will the Afghan nation prove able to maintain the ideal of Islam—a theocratic Government administering a Divine law? Jealous China and strange Japan have been forced by circumstances to abandon their policy of isolation and to enter into the comity of civilized nations. Afghanistan must eventually and inevitably share their fate, and succumb to her environment by the forces of Western culture and civilization embodied in the two encircling Empires of Russia and British India. But the change will be more probably effected by the influence of ideas than by the force of conquest. The mechanical inventions of European origin which the Amirs of Kabul have perforce adopted

will inevitably bring new moral and political ideals in their train. Roads and railways will traverse the Khurd Kabul and the Hindu Kush, and link the railway systems of Russia and of British India together, opening up new avenues of international communication between East and West. Afghanistan may one day become the playground of Asia, as Switzerland has become the playground of Europe.

We have failed to make the Afghans our friends, and have failed to subdue them as our enemies. Our unstable alliance with their Amir is not worth the paper on which the engagements are signed and sealed, and the subsidy we pay him is considered by his subjects as an insurance against his hostility rather than as a guarantee of his gratitude. But there is one aspect in which Afghanistan may be hopefully regarded by Anglo-Indian soldiers and statesmen—viz., as a nursery of soldiers. Its hardy mountaineers once supplied the best fighting material to the armies of the Mogul Emperors of India. As Switzerland was the common recruiting ground of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so Afghanistan may be looked upon as a natural recruiting ground in Asia.

There are not wanting signs that our recruiting grounds in India will one day be exhausted. Some of them have been so already. The Pax Britannica has produced a natural result in the decay of military ardour and martial aspirations among the warrior classes of India. Where our rule has been longest established the effect is most plainly seen. The countries south of the Kistna, which 100 years ago furnished our army in the Presidency of Madras with 40,000 fighting men, now supply us with barely 8,000. The Mahrattas have forsaken the camp for the counting-house or till the fields where their fathers foraged. Vast tracts of our Empire, teeming with a peaceful and laborious population, do not furnish a single recruit for our military service. There is not one Bengali, and hardly one Burman, carrying arms in our native army. The change that has come over the fighting castes of Maharashtra and Telingana will sooner

or later spread to the Punjab. The same causes that have depleted our recruiting grounds in the Deccan and the Carnatic will make themselves felt at Lahore and Amritsar. It was owing to these causes that in the East India Company's time our best recruiting grounds were to be found in Native States not directly under British rule. The kingdom of Oudh furnished a large proportion of the recruits for the Bengal native army. And at the present day 15,000 of our best native soldiers come from a friendly, though independent, State outside the confines of British India.

The Afghan is as good a soldier as the Gurkha, and an arrangement with the Amir of Kabul, similar to that obtaining with the Court of Khatmandu, might provide us with an auxiliary source of recruiting our armies in India, and might even provide us with mercenary soldiers for employment in European war.

The French used their African native soldiers, Spahis and Turcos, against the Germans in the war of 1870; and the Afghan under British leadership is equal to any soldier in Europe, and superior to most.

The present volume of Colonel Hanna's excellent history contains fewer literary and typographical mistakes than usually catch the eye of a reviewer at the present day. The Colonel has not adopted the official style of transliteration, and his phonetic system, or lack of system, leaves something to be desired—*e.g.*, he writes "Wizier" for Wazir, and "Kalassie" for Khalási. Prince Safdar Jang figures here as "Sapter Jung," and the famous defile of the Khurd Kabul is more than once alluded to as the "Khud Kabul." The 12th Bengal Cavalry and 5th Punjab Cavalry are in one place called "Lancers," though neither of these distinguished regiments has ever been a lancer corps; and at p. 448 the 7th Royal Fusiliers is called the 7th Bengal Fusiliers. These trifling errors are the only exceptions to the general, and we may add the unusual accuracy of the author's and publisher's work.

REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

By PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS.

COMPARATIVE ORIENTAL LITERATURE—ARMENIAN.

THE third volume of the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" (edited by J. Hastings) has appeared.* It contains several articles of interest to Oriental and Semitic studies : Calendar, Canaanites, Charms and Amulets, Cherubim, Circumcision, Communion with the Dead, Communion with Deity, Confession, articles referring either to the old Semites (Hebrews, etc.) or to the Mussulmans.

In the collection "Der alte Orient" we draw attention to E. Klauber's work on "State and Society," under correspondence, printed in cuneiform characters,† and an essay by T. Kluge on the "Mithra Cult."‡

R. Dussaud has given us the results of one of the most interesting investigations on human sacrifices among the Canaanites according to recent excavations ("Les Sacrifices Humains chez les Cananéens d'après les Fouilles Récentes").§

* Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1910.

† "Keilschriftbriefe : Staat und Gesellschaft in der Babylonisch-Assyrischen Briefliteratur." Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs, 1911.

‡ "Der Mithrakult, seine Anfänge, Entwicklungsgeschichte und seine Denkmäler." Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs, 1911.

§ Paris : E. Leroux, 1910 (Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation du Musée Guimet).

The author specially deals with the custom of burying under houses or edifices—*human sacrifices in foundations*. The excavations in Palestine have shown that these sacrifices occurred frequently. They immolated for this purpose children, adults, and even old men.

G. Samné and Y. M. Goblet collected in a volume* full of interest, the series of political events that took place in the East in 1909. It is a full account of Eastern politics during that period.

A curious publication has appeared on comparative folklore, by E. Cosquin, on the story of "La chaudière bouillante et la feinte maladresse" in India and out of India (Oriental tales and tales of Barbary, etc.).†

F. Macler, Professor of Armenian at the École des Langues Orientales of Paris, is making a great effort to acquaint the French-speaking public with Armenia, its history, and its literature. The author is doing an excellent work. He is now bringing together a small Armenian library; two volumes have appeared. The first is a very interesting novel by Chirvanzadé (pseudonym of Alexander Movsisian), "La Possédée," translated by A. Tchobanian.‡ The second is a collection of charming Oriental novelettes, "Nouvelles Orientales," by Minas Tchéraz.§ Finally, F. Macler has been asked to publish in French an important work by Monseigneur Ormanian, once Armenian patriarch of Constantinople: "The Armenian Church, its History, its Doctrine, its Form of Government, its Discipline, its Liturgy, its Literature, its Present State."||

HEBREW AND BIBLICAL ARAMAEEAN, ASSYRIAN, THE TALMUD, SYRIAC.

In the "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," ¶ Ed. Naville has published an extensive

* "La Vie Politique Orientale en 1909." Paris: Éditions de la "Correspondance d'Orient," 1910.

† *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, 1910.

‡ Paris: E. Leroux, 1910. § Paris: E. Leroux, 1911.

|| Paris: E. Leroux, 1910. ¶ Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1910.

work, the fundamental ideas of which have already been shown in his previous publications, entitled, "La Découverte de la Loi sous le Roi Josias, une Interprétation Égyptienne d'un Texte Biblique." In this work the author asserts that the fact of a certain chapter of the Book of the Dead (the chapter of the Departure of the Day) having been found lodged in the masonry of the foundations of several Egyptian temples, supports the paradoxical thesis that it was the same with the Book of the Law found in the Temple of Jerusalem, during the time that repairs were carried on in this edifice by King Josiah in the seventh century B.C. This Book of the Law that the scholars identify in Deuteronomy must have been placed in the foundation of the temple by Solomon in the tenth century.*

E. Naville has also published an interesting notice on the Egyptian name of Joseph in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (June, 1910).

C. Serfass has brought out a very well-written pamphlet, historical and exegetical, on "Le Vin dans la Bible."† This work owes its origin to the discussions raised in the bosom of the Christian churches as regards the use of wine at the Communion.

B. Duhm has published a new and good German translation of the twelve minor Prophets.‡ The translation is preceded by an introduction in which all questions relating to each of the twelve prophets are discussed.

P. Haupt has an interesting paper in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*,§ on the book of the prophet Micah. It is a new metrical translation of the Hebrew text revised and corrected from the standpoint of a critic, and accompanied by abundant exegetical and critical notes.

* Regarding this subject see my article, "The Discovery of the Deuteronomic Law" (*The Biblical World*, Chicago, November, 1910).

† Saint-Blaise (near Neuchatel), Foyer Solidariste, 1910.

‡ "Die zwölf Propheten in den Versmassen der Urschrift übersetzt." Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910.

§ Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910.

H. Strack has produced the fifth edition of his excellent grammar of Biblical Aramaean.* It is partly a revised edition (the grammar); the Biblical Aramaean text and the vocabulary have not been modified. What is interesting in this new edition is that the author has utilized the Aramaean of the papyrus (jüdisch-aramäische Papyri). One sees by this instructive comparison that Biblical Aramaean is not a special and sole dialect of its kind.

Fried. Delitzsch, continuing his fascinating researches on ancient Babylonia, has brought out a book full of interest on the commerce and the commercial relations in this old Asiatic centre of civilization.†

To the publication of the Talmud of Babylon (text and German translation) two fasciculi have been added, containing the treaty of *Nazir* (fifth volume, first part) and the treaty of *Sota* (fifth volume, second part).‡

Since our last "Report" the publication of the French translation of the "Sepher ha Zohar," by J. de Pauly, has been enlarged by vol. v.§ The sixth and last volume will soon appear. We shall wait for the publication of the last volume to review the whole work, to which the editor, E. Lafuma, has devoted so much care. The posthumous work of J. de Pauly has really been entirely revised, corrected, and completed.

N. Slousch, in the second volume of the Memoirs collected on the occasion of the centenary of M. Amari,|| has published a pamphlet on a curious elegy of Moses Rimos, a martyr from Palermo in the sixteenth century (Hebrew text, French translation, and notes).

G. Sémach has published a most interesting account of

* München: C. H. Beck, 1911.

† "Handel und Wandel in Altbabylonien, mit 30 Abbildungen." Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1910.

‡ Leipzig: O. Harrasowitz, 1910.

§ Paris: E. Leroux, 1909 (the volume has only appeared at the end of 1910).

|| "Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari" (volume secondo). Palermo, 1910.

his journey to Sanaa, where he has visited the Jewish population of that region. This publication* gives a very exact account of these populations.

In the "Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei,"† an interesting account has appeared by Professor Gottheil of the Columbia University (New York). It is entitled, "The Syriac-Arabic Glosses of Ishô'bar 'Alt." The glossary of Bar 'Alt is important for Syriac lexicography. The publication consists of the Syriac-Arabic text, critical notes, and of a notice (in English) on the manuscripts.

ISLAM AND ARABIC LITERATURE.

Under the title of "Los Sucesos de España en 1909,"‡ Salvador Canals has published a documentary chronicle on the Spanish War on the Moroccan Rif, and all the events of Spanish politics in connection therewith.

The fasciculi v.-vii. of the "Encyclopédie de l'Islam"§ have appeared; they continue from the word *Alf Laila wa Laila* to the word *Arménie*. To the name of Th. Houtsma is added now as director that of R. Basset. The work is of great interest, and generally well carried out. You find, however, some surprises. How, for instance, could the author of the article on "The Thousand and One Nights" recommend the French translation of Mardrus?

A. Le Chatelier has published in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*|| an essay on Mussulman Politics—an inquiry into the present situation and into the future of the Mussulman people, from the political point of view.

* "Une Mission de l'Alliance au Yémen." Paris: Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1910.

† Roma, 1910.

‡ Madrid: Imprenta Alemana, 1910.

§ Édition française. Leyde: E. J. Brill; Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1910. It is known that there are three editions—French, English, German.

|| Paris: E. Leroux, 1910.

I have myself written on the present state and the future of Islam from the religious point of view.*

J. Goldziher has brought out an important work on Islam under the title of "Vorlesungen über den Islam" † ("Lessons on Islam.") It is a general work, embracing the whole of Islam. The author therein successively treats the following subjects: Mahomet and the Islam, the Development of the Law, the Development of the Dogma, Asceticism and Sufism, the Sects, the Later Manifestations of Islam. Numerous notes and a very complete bibliography, render this work exceptionally valuable.

A. L. M. Nicolas has undertaken a series of studies on Sheikhhism (forerunner of Babism). The first fasciculus‡ is devoted to Sheikh Ahmed Lahçahi, the founder of Sheikhhism. It is known what interest, even infatuation, one sometimes meets with, among the public of Europe and the United States for everything that touches on the doctrines of the Babis and the Behais.

M. Grünert has been continuing the excellent publication of his Arabic texts, with an Arabic-German dictionary for students of Arabic. We have before us the third part, which contains the texts of the Arab Ante-Islamic poetry, and is posterior to Mahomet.§ This work is altogether very practical.

R. Basset has just published in a scientific edition, done with great care, the celebrated poem of Ka'b ben Zohair, known under the name of "Bânat So'âd."|| This work, which does the greatest honour to its author, includes the Arabic text, the French translation, two inedited commentaries, critical and extensive bibliographical notes, and a biography of the poet.

* E. Montet, "De l'Etat Présent et de l'Avenir de l'Islam." Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911.

† Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1910. ‡ Paris: P. Geuthner, 1910.

§ "Arabische Lesestücke zunächst für Vorlesungszwecke. 3^{tes} Heft: Arabische Poesie vor und nach Muhammad. Text und Glossar." Prag: G. Neugebauer, 1910.

|| Alger: A. Jourdan, 1910.

M. Asin Palacios has published the Arabic text and the Spanish translation of the very interesting anti-christian polemic of Mohammed-el-Caisi.* This unknown author has lived in Spain, where he was taken a captive at Lerida; he was attached as *faquih* to the mosque of Azeituna of Tunec. That is all that one knows about him.

* "La Polémica Anticristiana di Mohámed el Caisí" (*Revue Hispanique*, 1909).

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

No. XIV.—THE AINU: PAST AND PRESENT.

THE appearance in London last summer of a small community that represented the people inhabiting Yezo, the northern limit of Japan, made, or should have made, a great impression upon all who visited that space set apart in the Japan-British Exhibition to the Ainu village.

To enter an exhibition, to look round on the wonderful objects and attractions that have been gathered together from far-off centres of industry, produces varied effects upon the minds of those visitors who participate in the spectacle. But suddenly to come face to face with the people of an ancient race, who, perhaps, never before left the confined limits of their dominion, causes no little surprise to be felt, or no small amount of interest to be called forth, particularly at this present time.

The Ainu who inhabit Yezo, that portion of Japanese territory which few travellers have explored, are as much exclusive from choice as from necessity; nevertheless, in the past they took an active, aggressive, and important, part in the history of the country to which they belong.

These are days of intense activity, particularly in the extreme East; but even the wonderment of Japan's decisive actions during the last fifty years may presently pale before the enormous possibilities of China awakened,

or India aroused! Therefore it is rare to find a barbaric race of people left so long to themselves to pursue their religion, vocations, customs, and superstitions, after the manner in which these important items have been carried on unchanged for centuries among the inhabitants of Yezo.

The term "barbaric" will be discussed before the close of this monograph.

Historians and other authorities disagree concerning the origin of this race; but they are all of the opinion that the Ainu inhabited Japan long before the present race of Japanese possessed the mainland. It is believed by some writers that the Ainu were the aborigines, or original settlers, and that they have occupied the land ever since the Creation, or rather lived upon the land as soon as people trod upon it; for this reason the right of possession sooner or later became a matter of dispute. Ainu names of rivers, towns, and places, are distributed all over Japan, from Satsuma to the Kuriles—that is from north to south. The pit-dwellers, who lived in pits and caves, were a race of dwarfs, who were soon overcome and exterminated by these barbarians; since none of the pit-dwellers survive at this present time.

Some ethnographists are inclined to favour the belief that both ancient Ainu and present Japanese have sprung from Mongolian stock, the cast of features favouring this theory. It is known that the Ainu were ever restless, shifting their abodes and exploring as they pursued their determination to investigate the Empire.

The migration of these people towards the South continued for centuries; they intermarried with the Japanese, and adopted many of their customs. They acquired prestige, owing to their skill and craft in the art of warfare. For a long time fortune befriended them. Centuries of unrest made their presence extremely perilous. The pacific attitude they are adopting at the present time is far removed from the account of their combative disposition in the past. For they were not without ambitions,

and rather courted quarrels with the Japanese than otherwise ; making no attempt at pacific relationship, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers and the superiority of intellect.

When opportunities arose and privileges were at stake, the Ainu fought fiercely and bravely, and often conquered their antagonists for the time being, in spite of the disadvantages above mentioned. They were dazzled with the beauty, fertility, and general aspect of Japan. The southern provinces proved highly attractive, particularly in respect to fishing ; for they lived upon the harvest of the sea, more even than upon the spoils of the chase, to which also they have ever been very partial.

Eventually, however, the Ainu were compelled to retire to the principal northern island, crossing over the Tsuguru Straits. They were driven off the mainland and conquered ; cut off from the growing civilization ; and within Yezo, in spite of having extensively inter-married with the Japanese, they have remained content, to a certain extent, with their isolation from the rest of the world. This spirit has robbed them latterly of all ambition. To be left to themselves and their own resources seems all they consider worth striving for at this present time.

The race is therefore dying out, it is steadily decreasing, and, roughly speaking, numbers between 15,000 and 16,000 souls. They are not of much account, their lethargic nature rendering them unable to grasp the trend of events in the East, so pregnant with activity and reform. However, it must not be imagined that the Japanese will leave them to themselves, to inhabit and occupy that somewhat large island situated in the northern Pacific. Yezo is too rich in natural products of a marketable value. The late Japan-Russo War has somewhat raised the interest of this far-stretching unworked province. Some method for braving the severity of the climate, and other disadvantages, will soon have to be adopted.

Between Russia and Yezo hangs the long thin Island of

Saghalien which dips crescent-like along the cold sea-board of the great Asiatic continent of Russia, known as Siberia.

Saghalien is separated from Siberia by the Gulf of Tartary. Studying the geographical survey of this coveted island, there is no doubt that in ages long, long ago it once formed part of the Russian mainland. The contour of the coastline on either side of the Gulf of Tartary justifies this remark. It seems that in prehistoric times some great convulsion of Nature set it adrift, and formed its present aspect. Saghalien hangs down in the form of a giant arm, provided with pincers or claws, seeking to secure its nearest oceanic prize, or to grasp the hem of Yezo's territory.

The Island of Saghalien was ceded to the Russians in May, 1875; exchanged for the group known as the Kuriles. This transaction was made in the days of Japan's first awakening, when political suggestions from neighbouring countries had to be courteously accepted. The transaction was a subject of much comment among the rising generation of young politicians and ardent patriots. However, Saghalien was only held intact by the Russians until the termination of recent hostilities. It then became a subject of discussion, and the loss which had been felt for many years has been partly remedied.

In the treaty of peace between Japan and Russia, signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A., September 5, 1905, we read in Article 9 that: "*Russia cedes to Japan the southern part of Saghalien Island as far north as the fiftieth degree of north latitude, together with the Island depending thereon. The right of free navigation is assured to Japan in the Bays of La Perouse and Tartary.*" Also Article 10 "Deals with the situation of Russian subjects in South Saghalien."

Saghalien is, therefore, now shared between these two important eastern countries. Although matters seem progressing favourably, there may in the future be com-

plications and heart-burnings, for land is, and must be, dear to the Japanese, particularly any that was once exclusively their own.

The islands of this high degree of latitude that are under Japanese rule are rugged and mountainous. The trail of small islands that constitute the Kuriles, appear on the Survey Map hardly more significant in point of area than those formed by the congealed foam that turned into habitable land ; of which we read about in the traditional lore of the earliest annals set forth in the Nihonji, and Kojiki. In the story of the creation of the world (Dai Nippon), which is pregnant with wonderful details, being somewhat comparative with our Bible record of the beginning of things and events ; this archipelago grew in dimensions and importance in the following manner :

The Japanese story runs thus : When the two first beings were perfected, they stood on a bridge of cloud that hung between heaven and turbid chaos beneath. These two, Isanagi and Isanami, contemplated the watery waste beneath until the man determined upon action. Whereupon Isanagi thrust his jewelled spear deep into the water and stirred up the muddy depths. After a while, withdrawing it slowly, the substance that adhered began to trickle off, settle upon the water, and congeal, until first a large, and then smaller, islands were formed, which eventually constituted the present country of Dai Nippon. But besides the greater portion of congealed mud, a wind blew off little flecks of foam, which detached themselves, falling hither and thither upon the water, some little way from the mainland. These mighty atoms also endured, and hardened, and constituted themselves parts of the archipelago, for in all Japan is represented in no less than 4,000 islands, five large and important, others decreasing in size to mere islets fringing the coast-line.

The mountainous aspect of Yezo renders it very imposing. The highest peaks are situated in the centre. Some of these attain the height of 12,000 feet. The

ranges graduate towards the shore. This feature of the land affects in no small measure the characteristic customs and beliefs of the people.

Coal is extensively found in the region round Hakodate and Matsumae. There is sufficient not only to supply Japan, but also to export to Hong Kong and other parts of China. This coal is of varied qualities, and would be most useful for coaling ships in time of war. In some places there is a quantity of peat coal, and the seams are not of any great depth. There is no doubt its value attracted the Russians in the first instance, and more than ever since the demand yearly increases. Other attractions followed the finding of coal. A variety of saleable furs can be procured, owing to the immense number of fur-covered animals that secrete themselves from their hunters within the covers of the dense and extensive forests. The mountain sides are rich in forestry. Notwithstanding this advantage, some species have been hunted almost to extinction.

In the seventeenth century Yezo underwent a change, not for the better. When foreigners were excluded from Japan, the feudal system became established in what was then officially styled Hokkaidō, or the "Northern Sea Circuit." The first Shōgun Iyeyasu granted it as a fief to one of the princes. It was not at that time an enviable possession, for it had long lacked organization and administration. The people suffered much, for in those days the powerful *daimio* were aggressive and cruel. Owing to the accumulation of work and want of régime, progress was slow. The power of the nobles was felt, for it was very great. Their word was law; for this reason many cruelties were inflicted on this ancient people. The Ainu were not permitted to receive any education or intuition in arts that tended to raise them from their primitive state of barbarism. All this has naturally retarded the progress, and must now be deplored by those who have the government of Yezo to consider. It behoves Japan to turn to the very best

account this profitable portion of her territory that lies so near her former foes. Having regained southern Saghalien, and retained at the same time the Kuriles group, the incentive to promote enterprise will naturally be greater than ever.

It was not until ambitious engineers, explorers, and men of letters resolved to find out for themselves the productiveness of the land and its ultimate possibilities that items of interest connected with Yezo became general knowledge.

Yezo was at one time overrun with Cossacks, who did much damage and mischief during their stay.

The fur trade, already alluded to, that began during the seventeenth century, sounded the note of war between man and beast, which has by no means abated.

In 1869 a Commission was sent northwards by the Japanese to inquire into the state of the country with a view of possible improvements. The expedition, however, was not the success anticipated. It did not fulfil its expectations. General Capron and other Americans were engaged in the service of a special governmental department. A great sum of money was spent in the endeavour to develop model farms and farming. All seemed to bid fair for a time; but in the year 1881 the Commission was dissolved. The administration of the island is now carried out in the form of prefectures.

The situation of Yezo is somewhat important. Between this island and the maritime province of Russia runs the Sea of Japan; between Saghalien and Yezo the La Perouse Straits; between the southern limit of Yezo and Hondo, which constitutes the extreme southern point of the mainland of Japan, the Tsugaru Straits. These straits are very important. Their extreme depth proves, in the first instance, that Yezo never formed part of the mainland, and that it was always an independent island, for the geological formations found on either side of the straits are not identical. Between the eastern point of Yezo and the extreme southern boundary of Kamchatka the Sea of Okhotsh washes the

Kuriles, all part of the archipelago of Japan. On the other side the North Pacific Ocean stretches far, far away, uninterrupted only by a glimpse of the lonely Aleutian Islands, till it reaches the populated strand of British Columbia.

When the question arose some years ago of protecting the coast, which is very dangerous in parts, these northern possessions, together with the Loo Choo Islands, were provided with lighthouses for the precaution of mariners and fishermen. Fog signals have also been systemized for the better safety, fogs being very prevalent around the coast at certain times of the year.

Many species of valuable fish are to be obtained in the seas and the rivers, including salmon, mullet, herrings, cod, haddock, and others; also the much-prized marine mammals, numbering eight species, including the *Physeter tursio*. When harpooned, after having been captured by nets, its flesh is eaten. The appearance of this marine monster augurs good fortune.*

The chief places in Yezo are Sapporo, which is the capital; Hakodate, which has become an imposing port; Akkeshi; Nemuro; Mororan; and Matsumae, which is now called Fukuyama. With the abolition of the Shogunate and the *daimio* the tyrannous rule over the Ainu has relaxed. Through the dictates and the wishes of the present Emperor, Mutsu-Hito, who has done so much for his beloved subjects, including those of the lower grades, the condition of all has been raised, and, like the Eta, these ancient people have found redress. Some have been brought to Japan to profit by the advantages offered in the Colonization Society.

Here, however, it should be stated that, had not the opening up of Japan come about, the stealthy encroachment on territory, and the lust for land on the part of Russia, would have been felt in this somewhat neglected territory. Yezo is now safer under the wing of the mother-country.

* See "How the Japanese catch Whales," C. M. Salwey, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1909.

The term *ebisu*, or savages, has been frequently used in ancient Japanese literature to designate the Ainu. However much they may have changed—and, judging by their present appearance, a great change has come over them—it is a known fact that, centuries ago, they were addicted to the worst form of cannibalism, in that they sacrificed and mutilated their nearest relatives for the purpose of satisfying their brutal appetites. Later, however, better instincts crept into their reasoning, though superstitious, minds ; and they contented themselves with the capture of beast and bird and fish, all of which appeased their craving for flesh as food. Flesh of all kinds, whether human or otherwise, was formerly devoured uncooked.

In the traditions of the people the bear has played a conspicuous part. Many impossible and improbable stories have been handed down to us in respect to their love and veneration and ultimate sacrifice of this animal.

Like the Mexicans, who revere the object of their worship, which is the handsomest youth of the land, shower every luxury in his path, and then at the end of a year sacrifice his life to their pleasure in some barbarous ceremonial, so, in like manner, the Ainus treat the object of their worship.

The bear cub is hunted and captured, and brought into the home quite young. There it often receives greater care than the children, and has been known to receive sustenance from the women of the household when it was possible to do so, or if not other foster nurses were pressed into its service.

When too old and formidable to be at large, a strong cage is made of wood, bound fast with iron bands, into which bruin is persuaded to retire. When once captured in this way, there is no possible escape for the rest of his life. At the age generally of two, if not three years at the most, the sacrifice takes place. The animal, having so long been the object of solicitude, little dreams of the fate for which it has been so tenderly reared.

Invitations are issued, while a grand feast is prepared, into the menu of which much intoxicating fluid enters. All who are present don their best attire, coats and headbands are richly embroidered ; ablutions are performed, which are rare, almost unknown, on other occasions. The sacrifice is watched with the keenest interest from first to last.* Poor bruin, having been made to desert his strong wood and iron cage, is goaded by means of blunt arrows into a fury of rage, and is finally tugged and tied and flurried out of existence, strangled and squeezed to death ; while the strangest of prayers and protestations are being made to him. He is entreated to communicate to his father and mother, whom at his death he is supposed to rejoin, the remembrance of the former kindness showered upon him, the victim, by all the members of the household into which he had at a tender age entered and been adopted. The most ingenious part of the religious rite is that the bear is offered as a sacrifice to itself ! Food of the best, rice and sweet cakes, together with a portion of its own flesh, which enters into the ceremonial offering, the whole affair, and the details thereof, being of a most complicated and intricate nature. The ceremony is essentially cruel and savage, savouring of the worst and most ignorant form of worship and superstition. The beast having been put out of his tortures, and having become impervious to his protracted ill-usage, is finally despatched by means of rude long bows and arrows. These arrows are sometimes supplied with poison. After all, is this so *very* far removed from the sports and pastimes indulged in, year after year, even among Christian communities ? Sports that not only adults participate in, but even children of immature minds.

The personal appearance of the Ainu remains unchanged. They are credited with being the most hairy race on the globe, with the exception of the Todas (a race inhabiting the Neilgherry Mountains in Southern India).

* There is a very good picture of this barbaric ceremonial given in the *Illustrated London News*, January 3, 1903, p. 8.

Not only are they provided by Nature with luxuriant, wiry black hair upon the head, but also upon their arms and bodies. In consequence of this personal adornment, they appear more formidable than they really are, if we may judge them from the community that appeared in our midst at the village of the Japan-British Exhibition. There we found them a gentle, self-contained, not unattractive race. The reason of the abundant supply of dark tresses may in some ways be the result of never attending to cropping it short, for the people consider their hair sacred ; in much the same way as a Chinese does the paring of his finger-nails. For this reason the hair is suffered to remain as it grows, not only on the scalp, but also on the face and chin, so that many are proud of the possession of a very long beard. There is no doubt that this attribute stamps the Ainu men with a certain dignity and strength of expression.

In point of stature they are not tall, ranging in height from 5 feet to 5 feet 7 inches ; but their height is somewhat impaired by reason of the thickly-wadded garments, which constitute the national costume of both men and women. Being impeded by reason of the scanty breadths of fabric and clothing, they have acquired a certain slowness of movement, both in walking and work.

Their costume is decidedly artistic—we may say, very unique. If there exists any sentiments among them, apart from their religious beliefs and superstitions, it is centred in their dress. The wife and women of the household pay great attention to the clothes of their lord and master. It is said that some women will spend many years in making and embroidering a ceremonial robe. The material is sometimes woven at home. The coat is formed by a combination of two pieces of cloth, laid one over the other. The over-piece sometimes is of Japanese make ; the foundation cloth is hand-woven from the inner fibre of elm bark, soaked and shredded. This is finally converted into threads that can be woven at a loom. It is

not a good colour ; it is the over-piece that gives the finishing touch, for upon this the bold artistic designs are worked with so much care. It is said that no two designs should be identical, so that should they prove so, it is by accident, not by imitation.

Most of the patterns bear out little peculiarities ; they can be recognized among the workers, though in the eyes of strangers they may appear much the same. But the brightness of the cloth and the thread, which is usually imported, is a subject of much consideration ; for there is great competition among the women for their husbands to be conspicuous in a ceremonial function, and their work for his benefit is a matter of much concern and comment.

Unlike the Japanese, notwithstanding the profusion of dark hair, the Ainu women wear head coverings ; also leggings and shoes, when extra warmth is demanded by changes of temperature. The winters are often severe, though the spring and summer prove genial and pleasant.

To make up for the less ornate costumes of the women, they have recourse to that curious barbaric custom of tattooing the skin. It is astonishing how prevalent the custom of disfiguring the body became, and continued among savage islanders. It seems to have a fascination for all those who live on islands, or who embrace a roving sea-life.

Among the New Zealanders it was a very common custom, both men and women suffered their limbs to be tattooed ; but in Yezo the practice is principally confined to women. This is somewhat surprising, since the operation is decidedly painful and distressing, as well as most disfiguring. During the last century the Japanese made tattooing an art, and introduced in the ordinary colours of black and blue, red in several shades. They selected for the patterns dragons, birds, and artistic designs. This art attracted considerable attention at the time, in that foreigners were content, and even eager, to carry away indelible skin pictures ; but being considered to savour

of barbarism, this practice was interdicted, and when indulged in by English sailors, it had to be at the risk of the artist. The incentive of the high prices paid for the "curio" led to many an officer submitting to the ordeal out of bravado.

The women of Yezo suffer themselves to be tattooed round the mouth, and all over the arms and back of the hands. It is performed in a very primitive manner—by means of gashing open the skin, and rubbing in soot-formed bark, which is finally set by the application of a decoction made from infused birch-twigs in boiling water. This produces a stain that occasionally requires renewal.

The Ainu religion is somewhat peculiar. They are Nature worshippers, and the objects of their veneration are numerous. The sun, the moon, stars, also certain animals and birds, such as owls, eagles, wrens, quails, woodpeckers, mice, hares, and other living creatures, are venerated. The wagtail is sacred to them, held in as much veneration as the robin redbreast is with the peasantry of England, who believe that his breast is red because it was stained with the blood of the Saviour—the robin and the crossbill being the two birds who at the time of the Crucifixion sought to release the sacred body from the Cross. The wagtail, which is certainly one of the most charming and beautiful of the ornithological list, is credited by the Ainu with having assisted at the creation of the world. The perpetual movement of the tail is due to its ceaseless efforts to level the earth for the requirements of man.

There will not be space enough to enter into all the superstitions of the Ainu in respect to the objects of their worship. From what we gather, like all other ancient cults, however imperfect, slight or incongruous, deep or mysterious, there are traces that in some way seem to have become flavoured, if we may use the expression, with Biblical records. Here and there, like the flash of a

meteor, will some sweet essence of love and truth, some projection towards some nobler belief, gleam out of the darkness and error of primitive creed. *Totems* enter largely into consideration. These are neither symbolic or pictorial, but embody in their form the animal, bird, fish, or tree, with which the people imagine they have some close affinity, amounting to almost blood-relationship.

Inao are other objects, principally formed from willow stems peeled and shaved at certain intervals. They are propitious offerings to household deities. These objects are ever present among the people, either occupying a special corner set apart in the compound round their homes and villages, or distributed along the high roads in lonely mountain passes and places that require the protection of household gods.

Already there is in that part of Saghalien re-receded or restored to Japan a State railway running from south to north, from Kushunkotan to Toyohara; and there are others projected round the island. At Kushunkotan there is a lighthouse. This station lies just between the immense arch in the centre of the two extreme points that stretch down like the pincers of the claw towards the top of Yezo. Another lighthouse stands at Kondōmisaki, and on the opposite coast, the extreme limit of Yezo, at Sōyamisaki, another of these pillars of fire watches over the waters of the Tsuguru Straits. Therefore, it is evident that already the engineer has been busy for the safety and comfort of those who are contemplating settling in Yezo. Apart from the principal State lines, other lines are in course of time to be laid. Progress is being written upon the face of the virgin country. It will soon become seamed and furrowed and scarred, no longer left primordial and untrodden, even within the interim. It will ere long be wrinkled and lined and aged by the axe and the hammer, the bore, and all kinds of machinery.

The mountainous aspect of Yezo is not alone its only

charm. The rugged beauty is not altogether devoid of some fearsome aspects. Still, Nature asserts her loveliness, and reveals verdant valleys and richly-clothed declivities. Clear streams rush onward to swell the cold waters of numerous rivers. These mountain torrents, after leaping and racing over boulders, hiding in deep ravines, steal out beneath their cover and finally feel their way stealthily towards the sea—or the wide, cold ocean that lies between the Asiatic and American continents.

The greater natural charm may be proven in the still, broad lakes with which the traveller becomes suddenly confronted, great waters sometimes surrounded by sentinel rocks and mountainous rugosities—those attesting witnesses of the handiwork of the Divine Originator, who seem to have written their autographs in lines of stone against the sky. These are the allies of God, that proclaim in the most desolate and isolated corners of the earth His paramount power over all things and all men—a power that shall never be conquered or dissolved by any theories science can set forth in this restless age, or any other that the world may know.

The immigration to Saghalien has commenced: over 200 families have already settled for the purpose of farming, although as yet there is not much encouragement for such enterprises. The coal-fields alone will be an incentive to many. Dr. Rein states that "the amount of coal in Yezo would put the island in position to furnish the present annual production of Great Britain for nearly 1,000 years," and, again, that "the island of Takashima supplies every ship for Nagasaki"; and, moreover, added to these statistics that there is "150,000 million tons of workable coal"** in Japan.

Being such a cold and rugged country, a land of snow and ice in winter, though warmer temperature in summer, it naturally follows that there are pine and other resinous trees forming dense primeval forests. This would be a

* "The Industries of Japan," by Dr. Rein, pp. 305-9.

valuable industry in itself, if it were not for the scarcity of knowledge among the people of how to work the industry, and the lack of means to transport the timber to different parts of the island. Forest fires are of frequent occurrence, and they are known to continue to rage for two or three years without extinction. The resinous nature of these trees feed the fires, and therefore sustains and aids the destruction.

Since the arrival of many native Japanese in Yezo the poorer people find living a hard matter, there being so many restrictions placed on both fishing, or shooting game. The right to fish in the Amur has not yet come into force, but there is no doubt greater changes will come over this large island at no very distant date, and the visit to England of the community of these Ainu may contribute some impetus to future events.

It is certainly with pleasure that we shall remember their presence in our great metropolis, for in their present state they bear few marks of their early barbarism. Their simplicity of life, their contentment with few surroundings, and their dignity under the trying circumstances of being made objects of curiosity speak well in their favour. We are glad to remember that their visit was marked by such an auspicious occasion as that of the birth of a new little life to add to their numbers.

The courteous visit of Their Majesties King George V. and Queen Mary to the Ainu village, will be to the parents of this babe born in the British Isles an historical family event. The graciousness of Their Majesties in expressing a wish to have the babe presented to them will never be forgotten. The whole concourse of some twenty or thirty natives, including men, women, and children, attired in their artistically embroidered robes of ceremony, gathered in the village. With hands extended and heads bent, they paid their homage to the ruler of this great country, of which, alas ! they had been able to learn so little. Let

us hope that these peace-loving, gentle "barbarians" will carry away with them to their sea-girt isles as kindly thoughts and remembrances of ourselves as they have at least awakened among some of us. There are many who are interested in their fellow-men of all nations, creeds, and classes.

In the great expansion of the East, so pregnant with possibilities, every soul may be made a faithful citizen, a noble example to others; if those who have their guidance and welfare at heart can exercise and arouse by perceptive instinct, the best traits in each individual that in their total constitute the power of communities. The greater the numbers that make up the community the more important is it to deal with the individual that constitutes the community. At this present time, when such rash and new theories are agitating the whole concourse of the world, it is impossible to foretell who among us may, as time goes on, become the greater factors in this struggle of the races of the Eastern and Western hemisphere.

Who can tell how great may even this ancient race become, who are the sons of the soil, a hardy people innured to the severity of a northern climate, to subsisting on scanty rations of food, and whose minds, like many, are longing to expand in knowledge and perception? This paper is concluded, wishing these highly-interesting subjects of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan every possible happiness, success, and consideration in the future.

The names of places given are from those maps that are to be found in English books on Japan. Saghalien is sometimes spoken of by its ancient name Karafuto.

"The Ainu and their Folk-Lore," by Rev. John Batchelor, "Things Japanese," by Professor Basil Chamberlain, together with statistic reports on Japan, etc., have been consulted.

PAINTING THE MAP.
WITH REFERENCE TO THE FAR EAST.

By L. STACPOOLE HAYCRAFT.

POPULAR attention has of late been drawn to the Far East by more or less sensational rumours concerning China and Japan, and it is certainly none too soon to bring to the notice of the man in the street the possibilities that lie in the *terra incognita* whose shores are washed by half of the great Pacific Ocean, seeing that the man in the street is nowadays the man at the wheel, who has in his hands the steering of the nation's course through the uncharted waters of the future. For China is still little more than a name to the average man, whose occupation necessarily centres his interests into narrow channels; he accepts its existence as a geographical fact, much as he may, or may not, accept the existence of the canals in Mars. Both are so remote that they do not greatly matter.

And this is why the dramatic changes that have been going on on the other side of the world during the last couple of decades, and the developments, startling in their suddenness, that have followed each other with extraordinary rapidity, have had such extraordinarily little attention paid to them by most Westerners. Their remoteness makes them unreal.

But this lack of public interest in the Far East is a mistake, and it is a mistake for which the whole Western world will one day have to pay a quite unforeseen price.

Events move more quickly in the twentieth century than they did in the statelier days of the eighteenth and during the first half of the nineteenth centuries, and controlling forces are at work of which our ancestors knew nothing,—forces that took centuries to germinate before they were brought to birth. Steam and electricity between them have annihilated distance and destroyed the possibilities of isolation.

In the old days of some fifteen years ago the bugbear of the Yellow Peril arose to scare men's minds ; and, no doubt, the pictures conjured up by the very name of the thing are sufficiently gruesome to cause a scare. Colonel Young-husband, however, who is one of the men who know the East with understanding, when speaking at the Central Asian Society a little while ago, said : "In my opinion, we have no cause to fear the Yellow Peril. The Chinese, indeed, have much more cause to fear a White Peril."

That China should suddenly burst her borders and submerge the West beneath the overflow of her millions, after the fashion of her own Yellow River overflowing its banks in a death-dealing flood, was an idea that took its rise in the heated Russian imagination, and was passed on to us from Russian writings in which it was first suggested ; but it implies a curious ignorance of things as they are in the Far East.

For China is no more one nation than Europe is one nation. The Chinese millions comprise men whose dialects differ so widely that they are practically different languages, the men of the North neither understanding nor being understood by the men of the South. For close upon 300 years China's eighteen vast provinces have been governed from Pekin by the hated Manchu, whose hordes poured into China proper from Manchuria, the virile lusty North, sweeping before them the effete Ming Dynasty, last of the Chinese rulers. Within her own borders China has been continually torn by rebellions, such as that of the Taipings during the first half of the nineteenth century,

which arose in the South-West and spread northwards towards Pekin, laying waste cities, and devastating provinces that were isolated and made helpless by their own vastness.

In the past it was this vastness of distance that geographically separated the eighteen provinces of China into what were practically a group of Mongolian nations, distinctive from each other, much as we now in Europe are divided into a group of Aryan nations, each possessing its own individuality.

To insure a successful issue to its programme the Yellow Peril would require a China with its 430,000,000 united as one nation, aroused to active ambition, and actuated by an active and progressive policy.

No such unity exists in China, and no such activity. Her policy of the exclusion of the "foreign devil" has been in reality a passive policy. She would gladly make her own shores too hot to hold the foreigner, but she has shown no desire to invade the foreigner's territory, save in the peaceful guise of the trader. China in the past has been incapacitated and reactionary because she was too unwieldy to deal with her own affairs. Her very vastness has paralyzed her. It is only within the last couple of decades that the possibility of being in touch with her own provinces has come to her, now that steam and electricity, in their triumphal progress, have at last forced past the jealously-guarded barriers of the land of dreams. With the coming of the railway and the telegraph China awoke.

But she awoke tardily to find, to her cost, that a near neighbour had awakened nearly half a century earlier. And it is this fact that is so full of significance, not only for China, but for the whole Western world.

Whilst China was still wrapped deep in the slumber of the centuries, Japan, as we know, sat up and rubbed her eyes and looked about her, and, saturated with an unoriental vitality, at once began to set her house in order.

The island kingdom lies beside the coast of Asia much

as its prototype in the West lies beside the coast of Europe, and as in the past Great Britain arose in the Atlantic forceful and vital enough to dominate the neighbouring continent, so is Japan arising in the Pacific—a vital nation, one that has already made her powers felt on the adjacent mainland, and whose arm may be ominously far-reaching in the future. It is safe enough to say that had there been no Japanese islands in the Pacific there would be no Far Eastern problem to-day ; and, although we may shut our eyes to it, and, either wilfully or in ignorance, ignore it, in the Far East lies the problem of the twentieth century—a problem whose solution will ultimately cause the repainting of the map of the world, and into whose maelstrom the man in the street in Europe and America will finally be drawn, whether he will or no.

There are, no doubt, thoughtful men amongst us who recognize the portents of the events of to-day, and of yesterday, and who look into the future with seeing eyes. But the thoughtful and the foreseeing are few, and in these democratic days it is in the hands of the many that the fate of the nation lies ; therefore the many should be made to know. Therefore, too, to popularize a great question like this of the Far Eastern problem is not to trivialize it, but is a matter of urgent necessity. The masses do not learn quickly ; it is well that they should be made wise in time.

At the present moment Europe is a house divided against itself. Kaleidoscopic shifting of interest make us of the white races watch each other with eyes of suspicion, whilst we form alliances, and ententes, that we may steal marches upon each other in the grab for territory and power. In pursuit of expansion we all pushed our way into the unwilling East, carrying with us our civilization as well as our internal jealousies. We forced our various forms of civilization upon the invaded Asiatic, but we kept our jealousies and our policy of grab. And the Asiatic, whilst benefiting by such knowledge as we brought him,

was not blind to the fact that the white man's house was divided against itself.

It is a curious picture. The West, disintegrated by its own dissensions, has been the instrument that aroused the East from its stagnation. In what relation will the East stand to the West in another hundred years?

The startling changes that have taken place in the Far East during the last ten or fifteen years have been the result of unobtrusive but never-wavering preparation on the part of Japan, and possibly the shock to China of her defeat by the little brown islanders in the war of 1894-95 first really opened the eyes of her Manchu Government to the necessity of learning something from the still obnoxious West. No doubt China then definitely realized that she could no longer rely upon the protective force of painted gun-muzzles, such as one still sees upon the shutters of the emplacements along the Tartar wall at Pekin, and that the days were gone by when, by a happy inspiration, the Taotai of a Chinese city could put down a rebellion by appearing before the insurgents in a tiger-skin, and so frightening them that they all ran away!

It was a new thing, and startling, to be subdued by a neighbouring Asiatic nation who owed their victory to well-assimilated Western methods.

The war with China in 1894-95 was Japan's first definite expression of her adoption of a forward policy; it was the *baptême de feu* that initiated her into the congerie of the nations that must be reckoned with; and from that date the Far Eastern problem as it exists to-day may be said to have begun.

Since then Japan's position has advanced by leaps and bounds. She has planted her feet firmly on the mainland as a direct result of the war with Russia in 1904-05, and to-day she stands as great a menace to Chinese integrity on the east as Russia has been during the last century or two on the north-west—a menace, too, to all Western interests in Asia.

The changed situation is curiously little realized. In 1898 China was having pressure brought to keep the "open door" for all the Powers, including Japan. Now Japan has begun to close the doors of what was recently Chinese territory in the face of the other Powers, China included. We shall refer to this again presently in speaking of Korea.

Japan needs another five years at least before she can take her stand definitely as a ruling Power in Asia, and the strong and united China that would keep the scales balanced in the East is not likely yet awhile to become a difficulty to be reckoned with. The complete reorganization of Japan's army and navy, of her financial, industrial, and commercial affairs, is being steadily carried on. By 1915 her patriotic people will have become accustomed to a yearly Budget of from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 sterling, which will by then be a permanent burden to be borne patiently. Her international commerce, which counted some £80,000,000 in the war year, will be nearer £200,000,000. She will be mistress of a fighting force of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 men and of one of the strongest navies in the world. In that Far East whose everyday life is so vaguely visualized by all Westerners save a handful of experts a greater Japan will have arisen to rule the waves of the Pacific.

The ascendancy which Europe gained in Asia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was due to a supremacy in all those forces which Japan is rapidly bringing to a challenging perfection within her own borders to-day. "Japan has steadily continued her building-up processes since the close of the war with Russia, and such has been the increase of her navy that it is now more than three times as strong as it was in February, 1904. In their Budget of 1907 ample provision was made, according to the German plan, for an increasing naval expenditure, with the object of methodically increasing her fighting strength by the addition of first-class vessels of enormous

displacement and gun-power." I quote from "The Coming Struggle in the Far East," Mr. Putnam Weale's masterly, and most illuminating book.

It is significant of a well-defined purpose and of definite aims that by the end of the third year after the war Japan designed and built in her own yards what were at the time the two biggest vessels in the world. By the year 1905 she had arranged for the laying down of two battleships of 22,000 tons, as well as two armoured cruisers of 18,000 tons displacement; and only within the last few weeks she has placed an order with Messrs. Vickers Sons and Maxim for a "Dreadnought" that is to have a displacement of between 27,000 and 28,000 tons, and that will cost, when complete with armament and ammunition, nearly £2,500,000.

Such expenditure is not necessary merely for purposes of defence, seeing that China has practically no navy, and that Russia as a potential naval Power is wiped out of the Pacific for the next ten or twenty years.

The Japanese Government is prepared to tax the nation to death for the efficiency of her navy, and the people, heroic and patriotic, are willing to be taxed. But for what purpose is that efficiency required?

The answer to this question has a world interest.

Japanese methods are inscrutable to the Western mind, but Japanese necessities are human necessities, and therefore understandable. In a word, the population of Japan is increasing, and, like all increasing populations, needs more room—a wider area in which to bestow itself. For Japan it is an absolute necessity to have the map of the world repainted.

Japan has already crossed the Korea Channel, and established herself on the mainland of Asia, recouping herself after the war, not from Russia, but by the wholesale absorption, in Eastern, Asia of Southern Manchuria and Korea. At the present moment the Japanese control practically the whole of the railways throughout Korea and

Southern Manchuria. It is interesting to know that upon these railways their own people had the exclusive privilege of travelling months before foreigners were allowed to use them. Mr. E. Cotes tells us in his book, "Signs and Portents of the Far East," that "European prospectors have been denied access to the interior, while a shipload of mining engineers in the employ of the Japanese authorities has been allowed to proceed inland." From the same authority we learn that "the Japanese have kept the letter, whilst violating the spirit, of their agreements since they ousted Mr. McLeavy Brown, the member of Sir Robert Hart's capable staff who was in control of the Customs in Seoul." In connection with these significant facts, it is most interesting to notice the wording of the Japanese-Korean Suzerainty Protocol, signed November 17, 1905. Amongst the stipulations that were (to use the wording of the Protocol) "to secure until the moment arrives when it is recognised that Korea has attained national strength" was Article V., which guaranteed "the Government of Japan undertakes to maintain the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea."

Five years ago Japan gave that guarantee, yet where is the "welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea" to-day?

In the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, signed at London August 12, 1905, Article III. says: "Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Corea, Great Britain recognises the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Corea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, *provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.*"

I would point especial attention to these last twenty-two words in connection with subsequent action on the part of Japan. They are interesting in the light of what came later—namely, intense dissatisfaction amongst representa-

tives of British and American capitalists interested in mining rights in Korea, who were obliged to wait long after the conclusion of the peace for an opportunity to file their mining papers. This was noticeably so in the case of a large area north of the Consolidated Korean Gold-Mines, for mining rights in which a British-American syndicate applied, and were refused a permit by the Japanese. Diplomatic pressure was brought to bear on Marquis Ito, and the permit was only granted through fear that difficulties might arise with Paris financiers regarding the new Japanese Conversion Loan. There were cases, too, where the applicants, having powerful backing in London and New York, were obliged to bring diplomatic pressure to bear to gain their rights. In every respect Korea has become a closed market, and Southern Manchuria nearly so. So much for Japanese *bona-fides* and purpose.

The Japanese essentially lack sympathy with other nations—we gather this from their treatment of the Koreans—and it is a noticeable fact that the sympathy of other Asiatic nations has been largely alienated from Japan since the Russian War. In the first flush the victory of Japan over Russia was felt by all Asiatics to be a victory of the coloured over the white peoples, and was everywhere received with a natural enough self-gratulation, in which Japan was pictured as the liberator of the East; but feeling has changed, and it is true that China is not increasing in affection for her Japanese neighbour. The blood-brotherhood between them is not doing away with the growing irritation of China at Japan's grasping policy; and it is perhaps as well that it is so, for all China is being infiltrated with a preparatory campaign against the European.

Japan is carrying on a propaganda that we short-sightedly ignore, and, although an uneasy doubt begins to shake the faith of the Asiatic in his new Prophet, there can be no doubt that the propaganda spreads. Japan's aim is to substitute in Asia her own culture, and interests,

and system for that of the intruding West; therefore it is her object to stop in every away that she can the spread of Western influence, and to oust the European from the position he has gained in Asia by any and every means.

And the Japanese is an Asiatic, a blood-brother to the Chinaman. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand that reforms coming from Japan stand a better chance of success than reforms instituted by Europe, in spite of any natural irritation at Japan's aggressions, for the strongest spirit still in China is a longing to get rid of the European.

From Japan's point of view a Japanized China would be an ally, not a rival, so Japan has set herself to the task of propagandizing. This Japanizing movement is inspired by what one may call a race patriotism; it is being spread actively all through China and the Far East, and has enormously increased in intensity and in organization since the War. I shall again quote Mr. B. L. Putnam Weale, who tells us in "The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia": "This important idea is spread by word of mouth, by the vernacular Press (a large portion of which is inspired, if not controlled, from Japanese sources), and by the enormous and growing traffic in books printed in Japan; and a wealth of facts and opinions illustrative of this principle of restriction" (of European influence) "is thus scattered broadcast among peoples who cannot be so easily protected from casuistry as can the populations of more enlightened lands."

Without haste and without rest the native millions are being primed with the doctrine of the necessity of restricting European development of all kinds.

In the light which the knowledge of this anti-European propaganda gives us, some further words of Colonel Younghusband's, in his speech already referred to, take on a new significance. "There was," he says, "a marked absence of friendly relations on the part of the Chinese with our officers, and of any desire on the part of the

Chinese local officials to co-operate with our own in a friendly manner."

Facts, too, such as the following, although they may seem trivial in themselves, assume a serious meaning taken in connection with this knowledge of Japanese purposes : "The Germans and British in the Hankow tea-brick, rifle, cordite, and cartridge factories are being displaced (for reasons of economy) by Japanese. Two Majors of the Mikado's forces were working as assistants." I quote again from Mr. E. Cotes.

Japanese methods are not Western methods. In another place Mr. Cotes tells us that "Japanese officers have condescended to disguise themselves as coolies, and pull the jinrickshas of visitors belonging to a country with which Japan was at peace, so that they might overhear talk that might possibly be of political use."

The Japanese mean business. Their policy is slowly unfolding itself. When Lord Charles Beresford went to China in 1898 to report on British trade and its development, and the existing security for it in the Celestial Empire, he interviewed His Excellency Hu Yen Mei, Director of Railways and Governor of Pekin. "His Excellency (who was very friendly to the British)," says Lord Charles, "said that when China was opened up by railways it would surely make for the benefit of China and the trade of all nations. He was very anxious to have an efficient Chinese army created, fearing that European countries would annex large slices of territory as compensation for life and losses in disturbances." Lord Charles Beresford, acting for England, was trying to secure "equal rights and privileges for all the nations of the world—in other words, the 'open door.'"

One can well believe that his arguments were listened to greedily by Japanese ears. This was two years before the Boxer Movement to "drive the foreigners into the sea," and some six or seven years before Japan got into a position in which she could assert herself. But since the

Japanese helped themselves to the two "large slices of territory" in China, the rights and privileges of the nations concerned in commerce in Korea and Southern Manchuria have been all but obliterated, and the door has been shut, not only in the faces of the European nations, but also in the face of China.

Already the painting of the map has begun.

It is not Japan's policy to have an efficiently armed China, guaranteeing equal rights and an "open door" for the Western world; on the contrary, her hopes lie in disseminating the doctrine of Asia for the Asiatic, with a reserve as to her own ultimate hegemony of the East.

It is not the Yellow Peril we have to fear, but we may well fear the Brown Peril that threatens the East itself, for Japan's hegemony of the East will mean that we of the West must "begin with shame to take a lower place." We shall no longer lead in the march of civilization—nay, more: shorn of supremacy, the white races, for the first time in the world's history, will be forced backwards and downwards beneath an oncoming coloured wave. We shall no longer dare to quarrel amongst ourselves. Admiral Mahan's forecast of a changing balance of power in Europe that reads so importantly to-day will have lost its importance even in memory, for we Westerners shall be forced to hold together, and to hold tight, to save ourselves from disaster in the great shifting of the balance of the world's scales.

Already, when we look closely and comparatively at the national developments of both East and West, we see strange things. Japan, under the influence of the most autocratic Government in the world, has begun to think collectively, and—a curious paradox—we Westerners, under the influence of Socialistic Liberalism, are beginning to think more and more individually. The masses in Japan, blindly obeying their rulers, are patriots, swayed by the doctrine of the good of the whole; willing to be bled to death by taxation that their country may live, and thrive, and go

forward. Our masses, clamouring for old-age pensions, the right to work, the wrong of building "Dreadnoughts," etc., are sinking the good of the whole in the struggle for personal benefit. Our ideals are becoming parochial instead of patriotic.

And East and West are converging, drawn close by the magic of steam and electricity.

Who will have the final word when at last they stand face to face?

AN INDIAN COLONY.

By C. M. HALE.

THE great Asiatic Renaissance, in the eyes of all serious thinkers, has begun. Japan has aroused fully to a sense of her latent powers. China is already stirring in the preliminary uneasiness that precedes an even more gigantic awakening. There can be no doubt that the long-depised Asiatic nations are beginning to experience the first glimmerings of a self-reliance and self-respect that are destined to revolutionize the future of the world. The dread of the Yellow Peril is rapidly, and not without reason, gaining ground among the nations of the West, in whose hands the sceptre of Empire has so long remained.

But while the apparently greater issue has been engaging the attention of European alarmists, in a quiet and little-noticed corner of the British Empire, events have been silently shaping themselves that would seem to show that, if the Asiatic Renaissance is really a peril, Asiatic adaptability contains within itself a foil to its own menace.

Ever since the days of the abolition of slavery the problem of cheap and plentiful labour has been continuously before the West Indian Planter. Various expedients have been tried to meet it. At one time Chinese were largely imported into British Guiana. They were followed by Saint Antone and Madeira Portuguese. And then, both these expedients having been abandoned, some three

generations ago an arrangement was made, which has been in force ever since, for the importation of indentured East Indian labourers from India into British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad.

It is the history of these East Indians, in British Guiana more particularly, that should engage our attention. It is a history of continual progress and improvement, and it is in a great measure a history of change in national characteristics, in all cases a change that has only aided the upward march in the scale of civilization.

The conditions under which the East Indian first enters British Guiana first and foremost tend to arouse the faculty for colonization. He has first to serve five years on the estate to which he is allotted as an agricultural labourer, after which he has to reside another five years in the Colony, before becoming entitled to his return passage to India.

During these first five years of disciplined employment the immigrant Indian acquires a faculty for steady labour that proves of incalculable benefit to himself and the Colony when his term is served out. Any latent tendency to sedition he may have brought with him from his native country is fairly thoroughly eradicated, and he becomes a peaceful and tractable member of common society, exhibiting a thrift and foresight, combined with a faculty for provident co-operation wholly foreign to his African predecessors. And, in spite of sentimental platform howlings as to the demoralizing nature of any variety of compulsory labour, he also acquires, as he sees his position improve by the work of his hands, a self-respect which, combined with the traditions of a civilization reputedly the second oldest in the world, sets him on a plane immeasurably superior to that of the negroes around him.

It is not, however, so much the original immigrant Indian who creates the problem to be faced. Those who elect to return to India when their ten years are done leave comparatively little mark on the land of their temporary

sojourn. But it is the large and ever-growing percentage of immigrants who elect to remain and make it the country of their adoption, that is the original cause of a slow series of events that will soon culminate in the spectacle of an Indian Colony.

When, three generations ago, the East Indian was first brought into British Guiana, sugar was its sole agricultural industry. Before a generation had passed the cultivation of rice had been introduced by the immigrants from their own country, and it remains to this day almost entirely in their hands. Even the milling of the unhusked seed, that fell into European hands and so long remained there, is rapidly passing to Indian firms and individuals. Of the dozen or so mills between Skeldon, New Amsterdam, and the Canjé district, three at most are owned by a European, the rest belong entirely to East Indians. Nor is this the only evidence of the gigantic strides the nation is making in its new surroundings. The Creole East Indians, as those born in the Colony are termed, are progressing even farther. A Colony-born Indian, the son of an immigrant, practises as a police-court lawyer. His brother is a doctor with a European degree. And if any further sign of the times were needed there was recently the spectacle in Berbice of an English chauffeur in the employ of Messrs. Ramphul and Sawack, an Indian firm.

When first introduced, the East Indian was very much of an exotic plant. It was only natural that he should be protected by a special ordinance, created solely for his benefit. But the days of his infancy are over. He has taken firm root in his new soil, and begun to flourish. And—as was inevitable—the first faint glimmerings of a national sentiment are beginning to make themselves visible. So long as the East Indian population consisted solely or mainly of original immigrants, India was the home-country towards which they turned their eyes, and on which their affections were centred. But many of those immigrants have settled down, and their sons and grand-

sons have grown up around them. It is among these last, the Creole East Indians, that a certain national feeling is beginning to arise. India is a foreign country to them; they look upon themselves as Guianese rather than as Asiatics. They are exotic no longer. They are as much natives of their once new surroundings as anyone else around them. National sentiments are the inevitable results.

The feeling evinces itself in many ways, but in none so marked as the spontaneous desire on the part of the Creole East Indians to be removed from the hot-house of Government protection, and to stand on an equal footing with their fellow-colonists. Subjection to the Immigration Ordinance carries with it many privileges, but not a few disabilities. With commendable wisdom the internal Government of the Colony is, in spite of vigorous opposition from the Immigration Agent-General, considering the advisability of yielding to these first evidences of an awakening national sentiment on the part of its most valuable colonists towards the land of their adoption.

The first step once taken, what will follow? An Indian Colony. Continually reinforced by the arrival of fresh immigrants from India, the race keeps vigorous and pure, while the negro and Portuguese elements, already inextricably mixed, slowly perish and die out. The aboriginal, or Buck element, is already driven far into the interior. The Chinese, it is true, keep their national characteristics unadulterated, but they are not numerically strong enough to check the tide. The only remaining race in the Colony—the British—is in the first place migratory, and where permanent, seems to mix almost instantaneously with the East Indian, to the furtherance, rather than the hindrance of the impending dominance of the hitherto subject race. The British Guiana Eurasian is, for some curious climatic reason, more vigorous and stronger than either of his progenitors, and both in character and physique, as unlike the Eurasian of India as the poles asunder.

The final formation of an Indian Colony, rather than a British one, is inevitable, and, on the whole, desirable. The memory of five years' wholesome discipline, to a very large extent handed down from its original recipient to his posterity, combined with an almost automatic disappearance of that insuperable bar to progress, caste, has made the American-Asiatic Indian a being superior and preferable to his counterpart in Hindustan. The blithering babu and seditious fanatic are unknown in the Colony. In their stead are vigorous, self-respecting, and self-reliant colonists.

What, then, is the relation of this quiet and hitherto unnoticed progress of an Asiatic race in South America to the peril begotten of the Asiatic Renaissance? Very briefly, this. The race whose dominance is to be feared is the Mongolian Yellow race, utterly out of sympathy in national customs, origin, and religion with the mass of the inhabitants of India, where Hindus and Mohammedans immeasurably outnumber Buddhists. It is the lesson of history that a disunited foe is not nearly so formidable as one united in sympathy and common purpose. What has been done in one Colony can be done in another, as some people in high places are beginning to realize. The transferring of Asiatic Indians into Western countries, towards which they begin in the short space of three generations to evince national sentiments and affections, means in a great measure the disuniting of Asia, and the consequent lessening of any danger that may exist.

There has recently been some talk of colonizing the remainder of the British West Indies with East Indians. Surely the lesson of British Guiana, who owes the continued existence of her main industry and the inception of another to these immigrants, should sweep away hesitation. It is a striking testimony to the desirability of Asiatic Indians as colonists that the carrying of weapons, though freely permitted by Colony law, is almost unknown, except among tenderfeet and nervous old gentlemen. Transplanted to Western lands, the East Indian displays a

faculty for absorbing Western ideas and civilization, without the ghastly moral degeneration the negro has undergone in the same process. With loyal Indian Colonies the British Empire could defy all perils, whether Yellow or Teutonic, secure in the confidence that the very material prosperity consequent upon her action in creating them would prove an irrefragable bond between herself and the units that acknowledged the sway of her rule.

RACE AND COLOUR PREJUDICE.*

By HILDA M. HOWSIN.

BEFORE discussing specific cases of race prejudice and their bearing upon immediate circumstances, it might be useful to try and look back into the remote origin of this particularly ugly trait and see if it fulfils any useful purpose, if it has a real place in the natural scheme of evolution. If we turn our minds for a moment to the different races, nations, and civilizations of the past and at the present, we may almost regard them as individuals possessing marked characteristics which differentiate each from the others.

To evolve a permanent trait in any species or breed, strict isolation of the individuals which are to form the basis of the type must be observed and maintained for a considerable time. Then, when the character is fixed as a permanent type, the segregation may be relaxed, and the type will still persist, in spite of modification effected and new qualities introduced through contact with others. I do not wish to press analogy too far, but as an indication take the greyhound type in dogs. It is, I believe, the most persistent canine type we have, and however it may be crossed through many generations, still the original greyhound factor remains dominant, and crops out in a remarkable way.

Returning to human races, may it not be that in this deep-seated race and colour prejudice we have one of Nature's devices to protect the special qualities severally evolved by

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

the various races and nations? In the earlier stages, when reason is but potential, mankind is moved by violent emotions of love and hate in the most primitive forms, and it is conceivable that an inborn and unreasoning love for their own species, and an equally unreasoning hatred of others, has been a predominating factor in the evolution of races and nations, forming a protective and isolating barrier within which each nation developed its own particular characteristics—its physical features, its mental quality, its religion and morality, its culture and policy—until they became united in a permanent type.

For if you have in a too early stage, before individuality is established, that which is desirable and necessary for future progress—viz., a sympathetic appreciation of and adaptation to another's characteristics—the result is a nebulous mass of conflicting qualities, a mongrel, irresolute form, with probably the evil accentuated. So we get the popular prejudice against intermarriage, supported by Herbert Spencer and many later authorities. But I do not think the verdict has been proved universally true, because up to the present the bulk of our experience has been of marriages between individuals of the lower types of both races, and not between those in whom the nobler qualities are fixed. You may remember that Sir Harry Johnston, one of the witnesses before the "Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates," the report of which has been recently published, speaking on the subject with reference to the West Indies, said that there were a number of Chinese in Jamaica, and that they were doing very well, and were intermarrying with the negroes, and that the hybrid was a rather presentable type, having an extraordinary resemblance physically to the American Indian, but hard working and well behaved.

Racial prejudice, then, may serve as a protective shield in the immature stages of national evolution, but, on the other hand, directly the individuality is well rooted in a nation, it becomes no longer a support, but a fetter, and if

not cast aside, stultifies and paralyzes the expanding life by cutting it off from all those stimulating, maturing, modifying, and corrective influences which are essential for its perfecting, and which it can obtain only by sympathetic contact with the culture, philosophy, and polity of other nations. We see this exemplified in individuals. Those in whom race and colour prejudice is most violent are the mentally and ethically immature—ignorant, narrow-minded, and superficial persons. They are concerned with and governed by *local forms* in matters of thought, culture, politics, religion, and conduct—in fact, in all that constitutes their life. Whereas I think it will be found that those who, realizing the accidental nature of form, study rather the meaning and nature of the *life* manifesting so variously in different parts of the world are inevitably free from race and colour prejudice, and are, moreover, frequently attracted to those of a different nationality, because, on the one hand, they find in the foreigner qualities complementary to their own, and, on the other hand, the differing form (objective and subjective) constitutes no barrier to the realization of inner sympathy. Mr. Graham Wallas has a very suggestive passage on this subject in his book "Human Nature and Politics":

"The evolutionists of our own time tell us that the improvement of the biological inheritance of any community is to be hoped for, not from the encouragement of individual conflict, but from the stimulation of the higher social impulses under the guidance of the science of *eugenics*. An international science of *eugenics* might indicate that the various races should aim, not at exterminating each other, but at encouraging the improvement by each of its own racial type. Such an idea would not appeal to those for whom the whole species arranges itself in definite and obvious grades of 'higher' and 'lower,' from the northern European downwards, and who are as certain of the ultimate necessity of a 'white world' as the Sydney politicians

are of the necessity for a white Australia. But in this respect during the last few years the inhabitants of Europe have shown signs of a new humility, due partly to widespread intellectual causes, and partly to the hard facts of the Russo-Japanese War and the arming of China. The 'spheres of influence' into which we divided the Far East eight years ago seems to us rather a stupid joke, and those who read history are already bitterly ashamed that we destroyed by the sack of the Summer Palace in 1859 the products of a thousand years of such art as we can never hope to emulate. We are coming honestly to believe that the world is richer for the existence both of other civilizations and of other racial types than our own. We have been compelled by the study of the Christian documents to think of our religion as one only among the religions of the world, and to acknowledge that it has owed much, and may owe much again, to the longer philosophic traditions and the subtler and more patient brains of Hindustan and Persia. Even if we look at the future of the species as a matter of pure biology, we are warned by men of science that it is not safe to depend only on one family or one variety for the whole breeding stock of the world. For the moment we shrink from the interbreeding of races, but we do so in spite of some conspicuous examples of successful interbreeding in the past, and largely because of our complete ignorance of the conditions on which success depends."

Coming to more immediate causes, race prejudice may be artificially created and stimulated by unnatural conditions, by a reversal of the true and normal relation between nations and races, in which case it is a symptom of disease, consequent upon the violation of natural law. For example, should, through extraneous reasons, one civilized nation become subject to another, and especially if the subject race or nation, though different in colour, is not

inferior, but perhaps even superior, in parentage and mental culture, then, because the relation is essentially artificial and forced, there is this liability to irruptions of racial feeling, more especially, perhaps, on the part of the dominant nation, possibly because of an unconscious desire to continually affirm a superiority which cannot be universally proved, and which it may in the end be impossible to even outwardly maintain.

Another point to which I would draw attention is the relation of race prejudice to patriotism. Patriotism is the unselfish love of one's own country; if pure and healthy it naturally grows into the deeper and diviner love for all nations—it becomes world-wide and international. But like other manifestations of life, it is subject to disease. Race prejudice is the cancer of patriotism, converting one of the noblest national virtues into one of the most contemptible and demoralizing of passions. From these considerations it is clear that a nation which still suffers from this grave defect is thereby unfitted to govern another, since race prejudice means limitation, ignorance, blindness, in the very direction where the fullest understanding and sympathy are essential.

It might be assumed that among a nation whose glory is a world-wide empire, whose pride is its successful ruling of its foreign subjects, and whose boast it is that this success is based, not upon military strength or executive perfection, but upon its superior justice, its enlightened generosity—it might in such a case be confidently assumed that a protest against this crude passion must be altogether unwarranted.

Yet to-day one of the most sinister charges which can justly be brought against the British people is this racial and colour prejudice—sinister because, as we have seen, it is essentially a barbaric characteristic natural to a state of ignorance, of narrow experience, of limited mental and ethical capacity. When, therefore, we find it persistent in spite of the progress of civilization, the deepening of

culture, the broadening of experience, it assumes all the functions of a malignant growth, and may well cripple those who should long since have sloughed it off as a snake its discarded skin.

In March of last year (1910) the president of the Central Hindu College, Benares, in an appeal to the British Government and Europeans in general, reported that one of the old students, "a young man with a brilliant record behind him," on his way to take part in the festivities of the college anniversary, was taking his seat in the railway carriage, when an Englishman roared at him, "Get out, you Indian dog!" The student found another carriage, but arrived at the college full of anger and resentment at the insult to himself and his country. Were this a solitary instance it might well be supposed that the Englishman was not sober, and therefore, for the time being, not responsible for his conduct. Unfortunately, such incidents are of such not infrequent occurrence that one is precluded from putting them aside as examples of accidental depravity, bearing no racial significance, and casting no reflection upon English people as such.

As long ago as 1885 Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan, touching on this very question, which was then causing much ill-feeling, wrote :

"No one will disapprove of our referring, in general terms, to the various railway incidents which give rise to unpleasantness between Europeans and natives, first in very limited circles, and then throughout the world by means of newspaper agitation. *From individual grievances the circumstance fast grows into a political and racial question . . .* We might as well make our meaning clear by adducing some illustrations. We say that European prejudice against travelling in the same carriage with natives should decrease, for many mistakes are made by our European brethren by not freely associating with the natives."

Nor is this colour prejudice confined to white residents in India. A London lady, much interested in Indian activities, told me that she could not offer her Indian friends any hospitality in her own home on account of the unreasoning prejudice of her people.

Take, again, the case of an eminent Russian scientist on his way to be the guest and consultant of the Government. Stopping a night or two at one of the English hotels, he asked a fellow scientist, an Indian resident in the town, known to him by repute and correspondence, but not, I think, personally, to visit him. The latter came up to the front door of the hotel, but was refused admittance, and finally asked to go round to the back, because the English guests would object to his presence. He was smuggled up the back stairs to the Russian's room. After an hour or so's conversation the host ordered tea for two, but was told that his Indian friend could not be served in the hotel.

It is, of course, well known that Indians, whatever their social position, are not admitted to the membership of certain English clubs, and, further, that this ostracism is frequently extended to white women who marry Indians.

Mr. Harry Ife, F.I.I., who studied this racial question in Ceylon, says :

" During a visit to one of the chief towns in the island I was made a member of the Tennis Club. This club was composed entirely of military and civil officers, with, of course, their wives and daughters, no persons but whites being admitted to membership. At one of the afternoon club 'at homes' the lady members were greatly agitated with respect to the recent marriage of the Club's acknowledged belle and favourite, who had espoused a Ceylonese gentleman of wealth. This act meant for the young wife ostracism, utterly and irrevocably, she having, *ipso facto*, to at once relinquish membership of her clubs, and dissever herself from attending any private or public functions composed of whites, at which gatherings she had

hitherto been the delightful and predominating personality. Furthermore, her marriage meant, under the unwritten social law, that when she took her daily afternoon drive with her husband along the customary route, and which, perforce, closely skirted the Tennis Club, all that we did, or were expected to do, was to send cheery acknowledgments of her recognition of us as her husband's carriage whirled her past.

"A week later I was invited to spend the afternoon at a charming bungalow, nestling delightfully midst a bower of gorgeous tropical flowers, upon the steep side of a hill overlooking a picturesque lake; and my hostess was the young wife of a Government official who was a Eurasian of Dutch descent. To the surprise of the friend who accompanied me, he discovered we were the only guests. Socially speaking, she neither received the whites nor was received by them; and yet her husband held a position under the British Government. Our charming hostess practically led a solitary existence; or, as my friend phrased it, 'she was a pretty bird alone in a gilded cage.'

"This lady likewise had been a member of various clubs, and actually greatly assisted in forming the Tennis Club, but, like her friend mentioned above, had upon her marriage to bow in a similar manner to the social dictum."

In considering the relation between this racial prejudice and the present "unrest," Mr. Ife relates a noteworthy conversation he had with a young Indian, whose father holds an important official position in one of the principal towns on the North-West Frontier. He says:

"My friend came to England three years ago to study law, and with that peculiar capacity for study and assimilating knowledge so characteristic of the Indian young man, he has literally 'walked through' all his examinations, and is now, at the age of twenty-six,

a full-fledged barrister. Possessing, therefore, an intellect of no mean order, and having, moreover, devoted himself to the close study of Indian affairs generally, I deemed my friend's views apropos of current events as worthy of being obtained. In answer to inquiry as to what was the underlying cause to which could be ascribed the abnormal state of unrest existing among the native population of India, and especially in its official circles, he said :

" ' Frankly, the reason of the existence of the present condition of affairs in India is certainly and mainly due to the unwarrantable and altogether unbearable treatment accorded by the English officials to their Indian colleagues and the natives generally.' With flashing eyes and increasing warmth, my friend added :

" ' You English receive at your colleges and chief educational centres the sons of Indian gentlemen equal in position in our country to the position of the sons of your own nobility, you tolerate (I employ the word designedly) us, socially speaking ; and yet, when we return to India, what do we find ? We learn, for example, that the position of, say, High Commissioner for a province as large, perhaps, as the whole of England, is occupied by an Englishman who, when we come into official contact (with him) shamelessly casts off the veneer of friendship he displayed at home, and at once subjects his official subordinates and the native population generally to a continuous course of treatment only fit for dogs. These Englishmen never hesitate to show their scorn and contempt for us in every possible " refined " manner. Can you wonder at the intense hatred such treatment of us engenders, and that the outcome should be treason and incitement to every class of crime ? '

We can doubtless all of us recall many Englishmen who are or have been in India to whom this criticism cannot apply, but in far too many cases these grave charges are,

I fear, only too well founded. It is difficult to overestimate the far-reaching effect of these reprehensible lapses of good sense and good manners. The recipient of one of these gratuitous insults often preserves an outward calm because he is unable to retaliate, but inwardly resentment is cherished and fed until at some distant opportunity it flames forth in an act of apparently unprovoked violence. Or, by a more philosophic mind, the insult is received and dismissed with the contemptuous disdain it merits, and serves merely to strengthen a growing conviction that, whatever high honour is rightly due to Englishmen of the past, who in their lives and writings embodied those great ideals which are revered by England and India alike, their successors to-day are but bastard heirs, unworthy of their noble heritage.

In considering this vexed question, we must, of course, remember that every society—and in some respects, perhaps, particularly Indian society—is divided up into sets which hold as little intercourse as possible with others. More than fifty years ago Mountstuart Elphinstone regretted that—

“Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of the native character. Even in England few know much of the people beyond their own class, and what they do know they learn from newspapers and publications of a description which does not exist in India. In that country, also, religion and manners put bars to our intimacy with the natives, and limit the number of transactions as well as the free communication of opinions. We know nothing of the interiors of families but by report, and have no share in those numerous occurrences of life in which the amiable parts of character are most exhibited. Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue or customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a native, nor any

portion, unless when influenced by passion or occupied by some personal interest. What we do see we judge by our standard. It might be argued in opposition to many unfavourable testimonies that those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them ; but this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people. It is more to the point that all persons who have retired from India think better of the people they have left, after comparing them with others, even of the most justly-admired nations."

It is unfortunate that modern conditions tend more and more to increase the gulf between the ruling and the ruled, and to accentuate those divisions into which society is broken up, so that, although in individual cases there is still sympathy and even friendship between Indian and Anglo-Indian, yet, speaking generally, both find less and less encouragement to break through the barrier which divides them. And when we further consider that the majority of young men sent out to India in an official capacity do not possess any particular interest in or sympathy for the country of their adoption, but have entered the service from quite other motives, it can well be understood that in the brief hours of relaxation from official duties they naturally seek to withdraw themselves from their Indian environment, and, where possible, seek English distractions. Although these conditions cannot of themselves create race prejudice, yet they tend to increase it where it already exists.

The Rev. V. S. Azariah, of Madras, Vice-President of the World's Students' Christian Federation, speaking at a public meeting held in connection with the Queen's University Christian Union in May last, did not hesitate to say that :

"The way that the ordinary Hindoo was treated by a large section of the Civil Service was at the bottom of the unrest."

Now, whether we agree with that statement or not, the very fact that sufficient material exists for such a charge to be made proves that this evil is very real. The special correspondent of the *Church Times*, writing on the Indian problem in April last, declared that the mission of the Church in India was gravely hindered by the racial prejudices of its English congregation. He said :

" No one can suppose that in the present circumstances there is a ghost of a chance of an Indian becoming a Bishop. With all the living earnestness for such a consummation on the part of the Metropolitan, it is to be remembered that English racial prejudices are far too strong. There has been some improvement in recent years, no doubt, and an Indian will probably be consecrated an Assistant Bishop in Southern India. But the ladies of Allahabad and Lucknow would hardly consent to have Bengalee hands laid on their daughters' heads in the Sacrament of Confirmation. As for Calcutta in this respect . . . the very idea is unthinkable."

There is something almost humorously ironical in the whole situation, especially when we remember that the religion which these "exclusives" profess was founded by an Eastern, and that in His Name they try to convert their Indian neighbours from the evils of their exclusive "heathen" caste. This is the ironical side. The aspect which concerns us is the fact that this prejudice is so strong and deep-rooted that it dominates the most sacred functions of religion, that though entirely opposed to the profession of the Christian Church, yet the discipline of that Church is subservient to its demands, and through it her ministry is hindered and made ashamed before the very eyes of those whom she is sent out to convert.

Perhaps the most ominous aspect of the whole situation is that the Government appears to sanction this inexcusable state of things because of its attitude with regard to the

Anglo-Indian Press. More reprehensible, more mischievous, because more widespread and more authoritative, than the action of individuals are the printed words of many of these journals.

On May 7, 1908, the *Pioneer*, discussing the Alipur bomb case, said :

"A wholesale arrest of the acknowledged terrorists in a city or district, coupled with an intimation that on the next repetition of the offence *ten* of them would be shot for every life sacrificed, would soon put down the practice (*i.e.*, of throwing bombs) if it should become necessary."

The article proceeds to define these "acknowledged terrorists" who are to be arrested "wholesale."

"The smooth Legislative Councillor, with his quotations from Burke, Mill, and Milton," the Congress Moderate; the "more candid Extremist" who advocates boycott, strikes, abstention, and so forth; the lecturer and vernacular editor; and the last grade, the bomb-maker and the "wretched infatuated student" who throws it—

"They are the logical outcome of the whole movement as it stands; the nexus from top to bottom is complete."

So the proposal is to arrest wholesale these various sections, and murder ten individuals from among them, should a "wretched infatuated student" throw a bomb at an official against whom he has a grudge. (It may be remembered that, according to the evidence given, Mr. Kingsford's unpopularity and the consequent attempt upon his life was due to his conviction of popular leaders, and his sentencing youths, notably Sushil, to be flogged.)

Again, the *Asian* on the same topic writes :

"Bengal should be treated and governed with the utmost *harshness* and vigour by a ruler who is not afraid to put down his heel and—keep it there...."

"Mr. Kingsford has a great opportunity, and we

hope he is a fairly decent shot at short range. We recommend to his notice a Mauser pistol, with the nick filed off the nose of the bullets, or a Colt's automatic, which carries a heavy, soft bullet, and is a hard-hitting and punishing weapon. We hope Mr. Kingsford will manage to secure a big 'bag,' and we envy him his opportunity. He will be more than justified in letting daylight into every strange native approaching his house or his person. For his own sake we trust he will learn to shoot fairly straight, without taking his hand out of his coat pocket. . . . We wish the one man who has shown that he has a correct view of the necessities of the situation the very best of luck."

I am sure we shall all agree that such sentiments are too degraded, too contemptible, for further comment; but I would draw attention to the fact that the writer implies that he would consider "native shooting" good sport at any time, and he envies Mr. Kingsford his unique opportunity to indulge in it.

A writer in the *Englishman* advocated the flogging of these "worthy agitators in public by town sweepers."

Are not all these papers guilty of exciting racial hatred? of inciting to violence? two of direct incitement to murder? and do they not provoke evil feelings against the Government under whose ægis they exist, and against the ruling class, to whose worst passions they minister?

These three instances are but examples of many similar offences perpetrated by various Anglo-Indian journals, yet in spite of stringent Press laws, no action seems ever to have been taken against them; while the native Press is fined, forfeited, and its writers and printers imprisoned for articles and opinions far less extreme in character and diction.

The task before us is the complete eradication from among us of this senseless and harmful passion, which dishonours the man or woman who exhibits it and the country they represent.

A correspondent of the *Spectator*, discussing the causes of and remedies for unrest in India, says :

"Let Englishmen severely ostracize every one of their own numbers who in his behaviour towards Indians is boorish and brutal, *for such a one does more harm to English rule in India than the greatest Indian sedition mongers.*"

Yes, but those who love England and are jealous of her honour would rather see her rid herself of this evil infirmity because of the nobleness that is still in her, because of her own inherent self-respect, than because of any outward loss she may suffer by neglecting to do so. We want to try and cut it out at the root, and I should like now to say a few words on what I believe to be one particular and immediate cause of racial prejudice amongst us. I tried in the earlier part of this paper to suggest certain natural causes which would reasonably account for its appearance at all, and which would indicate its true position in the general evolution of mankind. But now, in the present stage, we recognize that it is an evil to be rooted out, that it is an hindrance to our further development; therefore, its unfortunate prevalence suggests some grave defect in our educational methods.

It is well known that among other Europeans we are regarded as an "insular" and prejudiced people, unappreciative towards others, and no doubt the very word "insular" supplies one great reason for our national characteristic; but with regard to our attitude towards non-Europeans I believe that the early religious teaching which the majority of children receive lays the foundation of their adult prejudice. Little children are taught to regard non-Christian peoples as "poor heathen," worshippers of stocks and stones and idols; miserably ignorant, wretched beings, sunk in superstition and intellectual darkness, from which they can only be rescued by the enlightened ministry of divinely privileged Christians. Our hymn-books abound

with such examples of this teaching as the well-known "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." I will read the first three verses, because it is a striking example of its kind, and because I regard it as one of the most pernicious hymns in this respect ever written :

" From Greenland's icy mountains,
 From India's coral strand,
 Where Afric's sunny fountains
 Roll down their golden sand,
 From many an ancient river,
 From many a palmy plain,
 They call us to deliver
 Their land from error's chain.

" What though the spicy breezes
 Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,
 Though every prospect pleases
 And only man is vile,
 In vain with lavish kindness
 The gifts of God are strown ;
 The heathen in his blindness
 Bows down to wood and stone.

" Can we, whose souls are lighted
 With wisdom from on high,
 Can we to men benighted
 The lamp of life deny ?
 Salvation ! oh, salvation !
 The joyful sound proclaim,
 Till each remotest nation
 Has learn'd Messiah's Name."

Now, this hymn is naturally a great favourite with children because of its vivid imagery : the palm-trees, the golden strand, the heathen bowing down to wood and stone ; added to which it is set to a good swinging tune, so that it is impressed most strongly on the child mind. But I want to draw particular attention to the assumption of intellectual superiority—our "wisdom-lighted" souls set over against the "benighted, ignorant, and *vile*" heathen. It is this teaching that is so productive of later evil, and when we consider the splendid contribution in spiritual, philosophic, and artistic culture India has made to the world, the position becomes somewhat absurd. It is quite natural

that the Christian, as such, should believe his conception of Divine revelation to be at least more nearly true than any other, but that is no reason why he should in so many words deny all intellectual and moral worth to those who have different traditions. For instance, Gladstone and Disraeli each led an opposed political party ; each believed the opinion of the other to be fundamentally wrong and dangerous to the State ; but neither denied equality of intellect, of culture, to the other.

It may be objected that the man most probably forgets the hymns and teachings of his childhood ; or, at least, does not regard them as a basis of opinion, and perhaps even ceases to believe in that particular form of salvation altogether ; but even so, in most cases, perhaps to some extent in all, the evil persists. The deep impression made in the plastic child consciousness is there in the adult, and when opportunity arises the new vibration travels along the same old road. For example, the man is brought into contact either in thought or personally with Hindus. At once a series of impressions arises in his mind, something like this : "Dark, uncivilized, heathen, ignorant," and so on ; and he will presently lump them all together and give his opinion about "inferior" races. Now, the misfortune is that he believes sincerely that he is giving *his own free opinion*, based upon his *own unhindered impression*, whereas he has *never had an opinion of his own* upon the subject at all ; he is merely unconsciously reproducing the old ideas and images thrust upon him in his childhood. When we remember that the Jesuits, who are fine students of human nature, say, "Give us a child for the first seven years, and then do what you like," we realize how harmful this indiscriminate early teaching may be, and, I believe, in this case, undoubtedly is. Surely, since as a nation we are in such close relation with the inhabitants of India's "coral strand," and of that delectable island "where only man is vile," it becomes our duty as a self-respecting people to

prevent the minds of the growing generation from being so foolishly and dangerously prejudiced.

It is not improbable that in the ordinary course of events England may find herself called upon to justify before the world the authority she exerts over her foreign subjects. At such a juncture her military superiority, her administrative efficiency, will not weigh in the balance. She will be judged on more intimate grounds—on the testimony of those subjects themselves. It has been very well said that "A race that bears a sceptre must carry gifts to justify it."

There are two ways in which the fact of Imperialism is regarded. There are those, and perhaps they form the majority, to whom it appears a practically stable position—that is to say, they believe it to be an international relation in accordance with the laws which govern humanity, and that therefore it may be assumed to be a permanent situation.

Now, to all who hold this view our Eastern Empire stands to us, as a nation, in the relation of a natural environment with which we have entered into definite contact. There is one immutable natural law, which, as we all know, governs the continuity of life in the individual and in the species : *That their existence depends upon their ability to adapt themselves to their environment.* If the individual or the species is too rigid to permit of such modification, the penalty is *death; and there is no appeal.* If you have become so encrusted, so hidebound, that you cannot respond to changing conditions around you, the tide of life sweeps over your head and leaves you a skeleton by the wayside. It is not a question of material strength, of means of offence and defence : it is a question of the *quality* of the indwelling life. The mammoth, the giant tiger, what are they but examples in the animal world of this natural law. We, as an Imperial nation, have our environment. Is there no danger lest this petrifying paralysis of race prejudice should so ossify our national organism as to prevent the due measure of response upon which our continued existence as

an Imperial nation depends? Do you think this is exaggeration? Mr. Nevinson tells us that an English lady said to him: "To us in India a pro-native is simply a rank outsider."* We all of us know that this sentiment, degenerate, vulgar as it is, is so prevalent as to be almost typical. At that moment when it becomes really paramount the death-knell of England as an Imperial nation will be sounding. She will have proved her inability to respond to her environment, and the tide of human progress will roll on, leaving her cast aside, weighed in the balance and found wanting.

It has been said that the unseen influences are more potent than the seen, and it is these unseen psychological agencies which are perpetually working at the great rocks of national life, and when suddenly, unexpectedly, a huge boulder detaches itself and crashes violently into the sea, everyone wonders why.

There has been for some time now a practical illustration of what I mean in the case of the Transvaal Indians. One of the specific reasons given for the justification of the Boer War was the unjust treatment meted out to these our fellow-subjects by the late South African Republic. Since the conclusion of that war up to the present time their position has grown steadily worse. You all know the details; you know that rather than submit to a legislation which seems to them degrading, and an insult to their own country and to the fair name of the Empire of which they are co-subjects with ourselves, more than 2,500 of them have suffered imprisonment, and mostly under evil conditions, with hard labour, and that, further, they have been deported—young men born in Africa, and old residents of thirty and forty years' standing—back to India. These are our fellow-subjects; and yet the Imperial Government has up to the present seemed powerless to obtain redress, and why? Because as a people we are failing to adapt ourselves to our Imperial environment. We are rigid instead of plastic. It is the *passive* aspect of race prejudice. For suppos-

* *The Nation*, December 31, 1907.

ing these Indians had been Englishmen, would there not have been such a wave of purposeful indignation throughout the length and breadth of Britain as would have compelled an outward readjustment? I am glad to say that at last there seems a hope that the South Africans are awakening to a better mood, a clearer vision, and that even now the wrong is in process of being redressed. Yet the fact that a British Parliament sanctioned, with very few dissentients, a racial disqualification against its own subjects will remain a blot upon this page of our history for all time. So, too, the apathy of the professedly freedom and justice loving English people throughout the whole of this agitation, and their apparent oblivion to questions of honour involved, leave a stigma upon our modern character which we shall do well to endeavour to erase. And so I appeal to all Imperialists, and by them I mean all those who see in Imperialism a natural and true condition, to take care lest this very race prejudice, with all the bitterness and resentment it creates in those against whom it is directed, with all that blinding of judgment it must bring to those who entertain it—to take care lest it prove that fatal weakest link, that base metal in their strong chain of Imperialism, which, snapping at the test, is the cause of humiliation and disaster.

But there is another view which may be taken of Imperialism. There are those who look upon it as the temporary result of abnormal dislocation and upheaval, who think that in the present stage of evolution it is not to be regarded as a permanent relation in accordance with natural law, and that, therefore, it will not persist when international relations are readjusted to their normal balance.

To all who hold this view I would make a special appeal. We cannot undo what has been evil in the past, but let us all strive together now so that future generations may not say of us that England was given one great, one special and unique opportunity ; that it was open to her to enrich and revivify the whole content of her national life and

experience by sympathetic intercourse with the soul of a great people ; that it was open to her to give freely of her best—and she has got a best to give—and to receive as fully, as generously in return, but that because of an ignorant and senseless prejudice she lost that opportunity—she failed. That failure will be *our* failure. *The responsibility rests with us.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, January 30, 1911, a paper was read by Miss Hilda M. Howsin, on "Race and Colour Prejudice." The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, C.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagagree, K.C.I.E., Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Robert Dunlop Smith, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John David Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., Dr. A. D. Pollen, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, Surgeon-General Evatt, Colonel Lowny, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. B. L. Kundanam, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. A. R. M. Rao, Mr. E. R. Rao, Mr. C. K. Vyasa Rao, Mr. M. P. Singh, Mr. M. A. K. Habil, Mr. R. A. Forrest, Mr. T. O. M. Ali, Mr. K. G. Yasin, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Palmer, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. J. Walsh, Mr. K. S. Pantulu, Mr. R. F. Munshi, Mr. P. Selvam, Miss F. Winterbottom, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. D. Appa Rao, Mr. D. C. Kesara Rao, Mr. P. Jagannatha Rao, Mrs. Doderet, Mr. S. K. Ratchiffe, Mrs. Atkins, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. Kneller, Mr. C. Judd, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. S. R. Holmden, Mrs. White, Mr. V. R. P. Pillai, Mr. M. M. Nihal Singh, Mr. Ram Sen, Mr. Ayab Singh, Mr. H. Judd, Mr. V. L. Ethiroj, Mr. S. S. Saraf, Mr. F. W. Barber, Mr. B. D. Kapoor, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. R. Dube, Mrs. H. Polak, Miss Polak, Miss M. C. Ryle, Miss A. M. Malleson, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mr. R. C. Chapman, Mr. H. de B. Prescott, Miss J. A. Middleton, Mr. Kundan Lall, Miss Younghusband, Mr. John Foreman, Mr. A. M. Vas, Miss Sophia L. Mulvany, Miss Barker, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. F. C. Mackarness, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I had not had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of our lecturer this evening until half a minute ago. You will see, therefore, what a great disadvantage I am at. Miss Howsin is a member of the Association. I believe that I am right in saying that she has never

had the advantage of being in India, but I fancy that she has been associated for many years with people who know India intimately. She is deeply interested in everything connected with India, and has made a considerable study of Indian philosophy. I must not anticipate anything that she is going to say or that will be said by others in the course of the discussion on this exceedingly difficult subject. In my humble opinion it is not possible to get to the bottom of this question in the course of any single essay or lecture. It would take, perhaps, several volumes to get at the bottom of the causes and effects of race and colour prejudice. All that we can do this evening is to find out what there is to be discussed and how we ought subsequently to study and discuss it still further. It is a question which ought not to be treated from any passionate point of view. It is a question which ought, above all, to be approached in a scientific spirit. Race and colour prejudice has existed at all times and in all parts of the world, and the causes of it are very deep seated and very complicated, and nobody ought to pronounce very positive opinions upon the question until he has given the subject the deepest consideration. I know that Miss Howsin has done that, and I have a notion that her reason for coming before the Association this evening is one of the purest patriotism and concern for the welfare of the Empire. She is anxious that where Englishmen err in the matter of prejudice of this kind there should be some endeavour to correct the error. There are, of course, two sides to the question, and I hope that those who discuss the paper will bear that in mind and will impartially weigh the issues on both sides:

The paper was here read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think that I may say on your behalf that you have amply testified your appreciation of Miss Howsin's endeavour in the thanks which you have accorded to her. We must now proceed to the criticism which is appropriate on these occasions, and I will ask Sir Arundel Arundel to open the discussion.

Sir ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said that the subject was a most thorny and difficult one to speak upon. He fully appreciated the spirit in which Miss Howsin had addressed herself to the subject. As far as he and a very large number of those present were concerned, they had a great many Indian friends in India, and any dissent from Miss Howsin's strictures would be fully understood. He was sorry to say that he heard last night of the death of an Indian whom he had known almost ever since he went to India in 1865. Another of his friends whom he had known more than forty years died not long ago. That friend was a very distinguished legal luminary in Southern India. Although he differed from Miss Howsin on many points, he entirely agreed with her in her disapprobation of the language she had quoted from the *Pioneer*. Such language was absolutely indefensible. He also agreed with Miss Howsin with regard to what she said as to the incident in the railway carriage. If a native gentleman had taken a first-class ticket, he had a perfect right to travel in that class, and, if anybody in the carriage objected, then the person who objected should remove himself and not the one to whom he objected. The railway authorities should insist upon that, and, if necessary, such an incident as the one to

which she referred took place should be reported to the authorities, and action should be taken against the individual who offended. On the other side it must be remembered that there were social difficulties with regard to the two races travelling in the same carriage. A European in a railway carriage would probably bring out alcohol, tobacco, and sandwiches made of particular kinds of meat, which might be offensive to his fellow traveller, if a Hindu, a Brahmin, or a Mahometan. On the other hand, a Hindu gentleman might take off his turban, and half his head might be shaved. Europeans did not put their bare feet on the seats, whereas the native gentleman did. In the South of India there was the habit of chewing betel, and that was distasteful to us. Such things seemed little, but they were not altogether so, and they prevented an absolute intermingling of the two races, unless people had such experience of them that the matter gave no trouble at all. The paper spoke of a High Commissioner who threw off the veneer of friendship and subjected his subordinates to treatment only "fit for dogs." He hoped that that High Commissioner was entirely an exception. "Wind in the head" was not limited to one race. It must be remembered that the same thing existed in this country. He himself had been treated with rudeness by a high official here whom he asked where he could get some information which had been published by Government. Shakespeare spoke of the man, "Dressed in a little brief authority," who played "such fantastic tricks before high heaven as made the angels weep."

A case had been mentioned by Miss Howsin of a lady who had married a gentleman of Ceylon, and who had been ostracized. It was, no doubt, a hardship, but he assumed that the lady must have counted the cost, and notwithstanding, had, because of her affection, married the gentleman in question. The same thing happened in this country, only it was here more a matter of occupation and education than of race. Suppose that in this country a lady ran away and married a groom, or if a theatre girl married a peer. He need go no further, because they knew very well the position. If the lady had married a Brahmin in India, everybody who knew anything about Brahmin customs would know that the Brahmin would have been excommunicated and have been an absolute outcast. The author complained that Indians, whatever their social position, were not admitted to the membership of certain English clubs. In some up-country clubs they were admitted, but in Calcutta or Madras the coterie was complete, and did not want to have outsiders in a social community which had been formed for the comfort, convenience, and advantage of a particular class. In Calcutta and Rangoon there were clubs of Germans, and no one else wanted to force himself upon them as a member. The Cosmopolitan Club in Madras to which he had once belonged was not at the outset a success in bringing the different races together, but it brought the different castes of Hindus together for the first time, and the social re-unions of the club were a pleasant feature. Dr. Pollen had told him that there was an "Orient club" in Bombay (run on first-class European lines, and open to gentlemen without regard to race, colour, or creed) which had proved a great success.

Time did not permit him to say more, and he would therefore close by quoting the closing words of Lord Curzon's recent Glasgow speech : " Some of those whom I have the honour of addressing here may be called on to play a part in the future evolution of the great drama which I have endeavoured to describe. If so, I would ask them to bear in mind three things: never to look down upon the East or the Eastern; to remember that the progressive elevation of the East is still the noblest work with which the West is charged ; and to realize that each individual European in Asia is not merely a soldier but a standard-bearer of his race."

The Right Honourable AMEER ALI said that he desired in the first place to express his admiration of the excellent paper that had just been read, and to testify his appreciation of the sympathy and feeling which ran throughout the address. That there was considerable room for improvement in the relations between the East and the West was fully borne out by what Miss Howsin had said. And this room for improvement was not confined to any particular country, but extended to every part of Asia: The faults, however, were not on one side only. Where communities were divided into sections and castes the difficulties in the matter of social intercourse could not be readily apprehended in England. What they desired was that everyone going out from this country to India should, as Lord Curzon had said in the words just quoted by Sir Arundel Arundel, regard himself as a real representative of England in the midst of people who had great traditions, and who were proud of their race and their lineage. An Englishman going out to India, whether as an official or as a non-official, whether his lot was cast among poor people or among high-placed individuals, ought to remember that each one of them, wrongly or rightly, considered himself his equal in lineage, and probably his superior in civilization. There was no reason why an Englishman should imagine he was lowering himself in his own estimation, or in the estimation of others, if he met them half-way, and treated them with courtesy, consideration, and kindness. As already observed, there were a great many social differences which divided the people of India from the people of the West, but if an Indian gentleman happened to call upon an English official, there was no reason why he should not be received with the same consideration as a European. There was no reason why he should be kept standing under the portico, or why he should not be allowed a seat in a waiting-room. Attention to these little matters would smooth the relations between the two communities, and avoid friction. He would venture to introduce his own experience, as it might be of some use to young men going out to India in an official capacity. He had made it his duty, in spite of heavy work, to set apart two or three hours a week for the purpose of receiving everyone who wished to see him. Whoever he was, he received him in accordance with his station in life. If he was a man of position, he usually met him at the door of the room. He felt strongly that attention to little conventions would smooth many difficulties, and make easy social intercourse between Indians and Europeans, as there was no reason why the English official should not observe the old traditions of the country, and in receiving visitors treat them with the

courtesy to which they were accustomed. He had heard of a case where a Deputy Commissioner in an up-country station, happening to meet a Rajah on an elephant, had made him get down in order to salaam the *huzoor*. The case was reported to the higher authorities, and the officer in question, it is reported, was reprimanded. The mischief caused by such behaviour can hardly be overrated. Acts like these created great difficulties and furnished the main cause of the unrest in India. At the same time, the mass of the English official class in India were—he must say it to their credit—courteous and carefully observant of the conventions of society. He was bound to say that the only incivility he ever met with was not from an English official. He quite agreed with Miss Howsin, that there was considerable race prejudice in different parts of the Empire which required the serious consideration of His Majesty's Government. But race prejudice was not so rampant in India as in the over-seas dominions of the King. For the sake of the Empire itself, the people of England would have to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on the Government of the day to improve matters in connection with Indians residing in British colonies. For as regards India the position was different, for when an official goes out to that country, it is easy for him to learn the rules of etiquette which require to be observed there. But the question of how to deal with British colonists in other parts of the Empire needed handling in a different way, and English public opinion alone can bring about positive improvement in that direction.

Mr. LESLIE MOORE said that he found himself in entire agreement with much that Miss Howsin had written in her interesting paper. First of all, he entirely agreed with her that racial prejudice should be eradicated as thoroughly and as speedily as possible. They all thought that. Secondly, he entirely agreed with what she said about that discreditable page in the history of the Empire which referred to the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa. He had anticipated Miss Howsin by more than a year on that point in a paper which he read in that very room on Mr. Keir Hardie's "India." In the third place, he agreed with what she said in reference to the prejudice instilled into childish minds by early religious training. It amazed him that a man of such intellectual and moral capacity and excellence as Bishop Heber should ever have committed himself to calling the whole of the inhabitants of Ceylon "vile." (A voice: "He wanted a rhyme.") That might have been one of his reasons.

He would like now to state certain points in reference to which he did not agree with the paper. He would refer to page 11, where Miss Howsin quoted a certain Rev. V. S. Azarial, who said, "The way in which the ordinary Hindu was treated by a large section of the Civil Service was at the bottom of the unrest." On page 9 she quoted an unnamed, newly-fledged barrister, a young man who said that "the reason for the present condition of affairs in India was mainly the unwarrantable and altogether unbearable treatment accorded by English officials to their Indian colleagues and the natives generally." He (Mr. Leslie Moore) had himself been an official in India. He belonged to the Civil Service, and he would like to know the value of those two *ipse dixit*s of gentlemen,

one of whom was unnamed, and the other of whom was not very well known in this country. They had been partly answered by the very able speech which had just been made by the Right Honourable Ameer Ali. He could quote very marked instances which utterly refuted the statements of those two gentlemen. It was not necessary to go back to the great days of old, but what did they think of men like Mr. Hume, who established the Indian National Congress, or Sir Henry Cotton and Sir William Wedderburn, who had been advocating in India a policy of hope and conciliation? Those gentlemen were all late members of the Indian Civil Service, and their actions contradicted the statements of the two obscure persons who had been quoted by Miss Howsin. Then, what of the late lamented Mr. Jackson? After his untimely death it was discovered that he had been in the habit of assisting Hindu scholars out of his private pocket. A collector and district magistrate in the West of India, who had been his assistant, knew a Hindu couple who died of plague, and who left behind them a little daughter. He adopted the child as no one came forward, and finally gave her a dowry on her marriage. A relation of his own, also a civilian, died of cholera contracted in nursing a faithful Indian servant who had been attacked with the disease. What about all the distinguished men, both English and foreign, who had passed the highest encomiums on our administration and on the Indian Civil Service? In *India*, the Congress journal of January 20, a speech by Sir Arthur Lawley, the present popular Governor of Madras, was to be found. One sentence ran, that our rulers, through the agency of a splendid Civil Service, had striven with a single-hearted endeavour to make India better and more content. When he (the speaker) thought of all the hard work which the civil servants whom he had known had done in India, especially in times of famine and plague, some of them damaging their health and even losing their lives, he was compelled to repudiate the slanderous and scandalous statements which had been quoted by Miss Howsin.

Mr. RITCH said that he did not think that there was any doubt about the existence in this, to that extent, unhappy world of ours of what was called race and colour prejudice. It would be utterly dishonest to try to make themselves believe that that was not the fact. But to his mind it was much more interesting to try to understand the causes of racial prejudice and to try to see how it could be eliminated or neutralized. To a very great extent he agreed with Miss Howsin in her explanation of the cause. Racial prejudice was a very ugly thing, and his humble submission was that it was just as different from true pride of race as jingoism was different from patriotism, and it deserved the same fate. How were they to eliminate it? He supposed that it was just a matter of education and self-training. It really meant trying to adopt a more tolerant attitude. If they wanted to bring about a better condition of things, those who were in the ascendancy must "stoop to conquer." *Noblesse oblige.* His own observations had been made mostly in South Africa, and during the many years that he lived there he had seen some most extravagant instances of bitter racial and colour prejudice. That it ought not to exist they must all agree, and all could lend a hand in doing away with the horrible

excrescence. Everyone who went abroad should try to cultivate and promote a better attitude of mind.

Mr. VYASA RAO said that he was second to none in the admiration he felt for the exceedingly interesting paper, but he confessed to the impression that their attention had been drawn to one side of the picture, and that—the side that lacked light. At the very outset it would be better for them to consider the subject from three aspects: first of all, the inter-racial matrimonial aspect; secondly, the purely social aspect; and, thirdly, the political aspect.

With regard to inter-racial marriages, he thought human advancement would be best secured by each race developing its best qualities, and not by bringing about a fusion of the races; that the alliances were injurious to the interest of humanity ultimately; and since there was no positive law to prohibit inter-racial marriages, society had a right by its power of social ostracism to discountenance them. Matters of that kind were of such supreme importance to the sum-total of human happiness that they should not labour under flimsy sentimentality. They knew that inter-racial marriages had not produced the best results, and the Eurasian in India had not added to the strength or unity of the Empire.

Turning to the social question, he asked his hearers to imagine that when he came to this country the inviolable conditions of life here were such that the people of this country were not permitted to eat with him, or to drink with him, or to be seen by him when they ate or drank—were not permitted to come into personal contact with him. Would it be a wonder, under such conditions, if he had to lead a life of isolation? If, for having to live so, he was accused by his own countrymen of cutting himself off from the people of this country, how unfair, how disheartening, would such an accusation be? It would be a serious mistake, however, to believe that because of this isolation the springs of human sympathy were choked up in English men and women in India. He could instance a case in which the wife of a district collector during a famine took the children of the lowest of the low in her hands and fed them one after another, while the mothers of these infants were too weak and emaciated to attend to them. One such woman did what a hundred Government proceedings could not do.

If only the moral basis of British rule in India were properly comprehended, racial prejudice in the sphere of politics would vanish. Ours is an Empire cemented by the blood of both races, and resting on the heart-power and brain-power of the best amongst the two races. There had not been a single battle in which the Indian had not fought side by side with his British comrade, or a single undertaking in which Indian counsel had not had its part. There was a silver lining even to this cloud of political prejudice. The administration of India by Lord Minto and Lord Morley had raised the status of Indians in a manner that could not have been dreamt of five years ago. There were, again, the gallant and statesmanlike efforts of Lord Ampthill to overcome the sufferings of Indians in South Africa. Nor could we fail to mention how unwearied some members of the Civil Service were in befriending young Indians here, as in the case of their own

Secretary, Dr. Pollen. The very lecture was an indication of the fact that these prejudices were being weeded out.

The CHAIRMAN : All of us here who know India understand what Miss Howsin was driving at, and we all, if she will permit me to speak quite frankly, were able to make allowances for that which is erroneous and one-sided. I cannot help feeling that, as regards the paper itself, if it were given to an outsider not acquainted with India or the ways of Englishmen in India, he would be very considerably misled. It seems to me that this paper is based on three sweeping assumptions which are fallacious—indeed, in my opinion, absolutely incorrect.

The first of these generalities is that the British race as a whole is actuated by racial and colour prejudice against Indians in India. The paper would certainly create that impression on the mind of anyone not knowing the true state of affairs. The second is that that prejudice, so far as it exists, is all on one side—namely, that of Englishmen, and that there is no corresponding feeling on the Indian side; and the third is that the Indian civil servant and officialdom in India as a whole is arrogant and unjust. This last assumption is one which I deny with particular warmth and emphasis, because it is not true. I feel sure that if Miss Howsin had been in India, even for six months, she would have written this paper very differently. I ask you, Is there such a thing as general race hatred and colour prejudice on the part of the British race as against Indians? Does it exist in this country? Is that the experience of Indians who come to this country? Owing to the lamentable occurrences of the last few years, there has naturally been a feeling of tension; but did the Indian student who came to this country five years ago ever come across anything that could resemble or be called race hatred or prejudice. Certainly it did not exist when I was at the University. There was not a trace of it. If there is general race hatred, how is it that it is not expressed by the leaders of thought and the exponents of public opinion in this country? Who can tell me of any leading man who has given expression to anything in the shape of race hatred or prejudice? Who can tell me of any writer who has expounded this supposed feature of public opinion? Race hatred certainly does not exist here, nor does it exist in India, either among Englishmen or among Indians. Where there is such a feeling it is the exception and not the rule. The vast mass of Englishmen in India love India and the Indians, and the general feeling among Indians themselves is one of goodwill and kindness towards Englishmen. (A voice : "No, that is not true.") I do not know who is contradicting me.

MR. HYNDMAN : I do for one, my lord. (A voice to Mr. Hyndman : "You know nothing about it.")

The CHAIRMAN : The speakers who have carried on the discussion have amply proved that it is not fair to say that any existing prejudice is all on one side, so that I need not deal any further with that point. I think that the character of the Indian Civil Service has already been amply vindicated, and I am sure that anyone who had spent even a short time in India could not possibly carry away the impression that the Indian civil servants as a rule are either arrogant or unjust.

As regards the philosophical aspect of the question, it seemed to me a pity that the paper stopped short at the very threshold of that most interesting subject. It is impossible to embark on a discussion of it now. Mr. Ritch was the only speaker who touched upon it. What I want to observe is that it is not a question either of advance in civilization or of relapse into barbarism. The opinions, the sentiments, and the prejudices of crowds, of communities, and of nations, are not guided by reason. They depend entirely on human nature, and I do not think there is any difference between the present-day causes of national feeling or the feeling of large bodies of men and the causes of similar feeling centuries ago. Crowds, communities, and nations respond readily to suggestion and leadership, and, therefore, in regard to such prejudice as does exist the remedy is in the hands of those who are able to lead communities and to influence the hearts and minds of their fellow countrymen. We are exceedingly grateful to Miss Howsin for her courageous and extremely interesting endeavour to throw light upon this most important and thorny question. I thank you, too, for your kind attention to my inadequate and imperfect comments.

Mr. C. E. BUCKLAND proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Howsin and also to the Chairman.

Dr. JOHN POLLEN said he had great pleasure in seconding the votes of thanks. He perfectly agreed with the statement that, if Miss Howsin had spent six months in India and seen how the people liked us and how we liked the people, she would have modified some of her remarks. It was hardly possible to thank the Chairman in adequate terms for his kindness for the manner in which his Lordship had presided over the meeting.

The votes of thanks were carried unanimously.

Miss HOWSIN : My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, I should like to thank you all for the patience with which you have heard me, and the kindness with which you have received me. It has been said that there are as many ways to God as there are breaths in the bodies of men, and so I suppose that, as long as the world exists, we shall all see things a little differently, and we shall all think differently about the best means and the best actions by which to externalize our ideals. But whatever we think of actions and means, I think that we are all agreed in our love of India and England, and that therefore we can all unite in a very fervent prayer, a very real desire, that such relations may be established between England and India as may not hinder the highest destiny of both nations from being fulfilled.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, March 6, 1911, a paper was read by the Rev. J. Knowles on "The Battle of the Characters : or an Imperial Script for India." Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present : The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.; Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell, C.V.O., D.S.O.; Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E.; Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Lady Wilson, the Rev. Mr. Underwood, the Rev. G. Paterson, Mr. B. M. Sen, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. White, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. J. Walsh, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. Waldegrave, Mr. Percy W. Ames, Mr. C. A. Mitchell, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. F. Moores, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Palmer, Mr. Edward Palmer, junr., Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. T. C. Hodson, Mr. Daniel Jones, Miss Francis, Mrs. Barker, Mr. H. Judd, Mr. B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., Mrs. F. H. Dixon, Miss J. Dixon, Mr. B. Dube, Mr. Khaja Ishmail, Mr. T. Benson, Mr. B. D. Kapoor, Mr. F. W. Barber, Mr. P. J. Rao, Mr. E. R. Rao, Colonel Lowny, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, Mr. J. Dixon, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. C. K. Vyasa Rao, Mr. E. A. Phipson, Mr. Francis H. Marchant, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. N. B. Chandiramain, Miss A. D. Butcher, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I have only to say a few words to you to introduce Mr. Knowles, who is going to read the paper this evening. He has had a long experience in educational work as a missionary in Southern India, and has given a great deal of thought to this very important question of how we should write the languages of India. I will now ask him to address the meeting.

The REV. J. KNOWLES then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure that you will agree with me that we are much indebted to Mr. Knowles for the very interesting paper that he has read. We are much obliged to him for putting his conclusions before us. I dare say that there are a number of people in this audience who, like Mr. Knowles and myself, have puzzled over this question in India. Some

no doubt, will agree with most that he has said, but others will have their own ideas, which, perhaps, they would like to put forward, and I hope that they will do so as opportunity arises. I may, perhaps, lead the way by stating my own experience and my own ideas. Mr. Knowles has, I understand, spent most of his time in Southern India, where the languages are, to a large extent, of a Dravidian character. My experience has been in the Punjab, where the language of the people is of a Hindi origin. We have the difficult question that the script ordinarily used in writing this language has been the Arabic character, which, in the Punjab and the north of India generally, is still the official script in which the vernacular is written in our courts and offices, although it is, to a certain extent, becoming displaced by English as the people, and especially the officials are becoming more familiar with the use of English. The Roman character has not yet been adopted, as far as I know, anywhere—at all events, it has not in the Punjab—as the official script. The present question is how we should endeavour to write the vernacular language, whatever it happens to be, in different parts of India. We must try to confine ourselves to that question. We are not at present discussing what language should be adopted in India. It is not a question of pushing the Urdu language as against Hindi, or of pushing Esperanto or English as against the vernaculars. We take the vernaculars as we find them. We English people who have had a tremendous amount of trouble in learning different scripts are rather inclined to look upon it from that point of view, and from the point of view of every Englishman who will have to learn these languages. But the point of view that I would impress upon you is that which Mr. Knowles has laid stress upon, which is—how are we best to teach the ignorant classes, the children of the villagers, and the peasants, to read and write their own dialects? I have always been interested in dialects. I have had occasion to wander over the whole Punjab, and wherever I have gone, when I have had time, I have studied the local dialect, whatever it happened to be. There is a proverb which, I suppose, holds good all over India, that the dialect changes every twenty miles, and I found wonderful differences in short distances. I do not think we should be bothered in this matter with the ideas of grammarians who tie us down to old, pedantic notions. For my purpose, at all events, the Roman character, with the help of certain dots and accents, was quite sufficient to represent the sounds of any dialect. When you came across a new sound you sometimes had to adopt a combination of letters and marks of your own to represent it, but, taking any particular dialect by itself, the best and simplest plan was to get hold of illiterate villagers who had never tried to learn any language but their own. A man like that cannot speak bad grammar. Whatever he speaks is his own native, natural dialect. If, when he talks to you, you write down in any script that you like the sounds which you actually hear proceeding from his mouth, you then get the very best representation of that particular dialect. I have written down the grammar and a short vocabulary of a large number of the dialects in the Punjab. In hunting about among these different dialects I came across the original Urdu, from which the Urdu grammar comes. The dialects in the villages

round about Delhi are Hindi and the grammar is a Hindi ; but towards the end of my service I happened upon certain villages to the north of Delhi where the illiterate people who had never learnt any language but their own, spoke a pure Urdú grammar. That part of the country, I believe, was the original home of the grammar of Urdú, which is now spoken as the *lingua Franca* of the whole of the north of India. I knew something of Sanscrit in old days. I was Boden scholar at Oxford many years ago. I have forgotten most of my Sanscrit now, but I remémember something of the Nagari alphabet and the great difficulty of mastering it. I had also to learn the Arabic character, and I have realized, for my own part at all events, how difficult it is to make use of those characters either in writing the Indian vernaculars or in writing Urdú on the one hand, or Hindi on the other. I can endorse from my own experience what Mr. Knowles has said about those difficulties. I often inspected village schools in some of which Hindi written in Nagari was the language taught, and in others of which Punjabi written in Gurmukhi, a character which is a development of the Nagari script, was taught, while the great majority of the schools in the Punjab teach their boys Urdú—that is, Hindustani—written in the Arabic character. It is much more difficult for the poor little mites to master the character of these scripts than it is to master our own much simpler Roman character. I have arrived at the same conclusion as Mr. Knowles has arrived at on the main point—that, taking all things together, the Roman character is very much the better character for printing and for writing, in which to represent the sounds of any Indian vernacular, and very much simpler for children and illiterate people to learn. I remember being much amused once when I had to inspect a gaol in the Punjab. The doctor in charge of the gaol was, like myself, rather a faddist about the Roman character. In those days we were supposed to try to educate prisoners, so he used to set the prisoners to learn Urdú in the Roman character, and you would find dacoits, cattle stealers, robbers, and perhaps murderers, puzzling over the Roman letters. He used to point out with the greatest pride how, in about a month, these fellows who before could not read, were able to read the Roman character, while they never would have been able to learn the Arabic or Nagari character. I believe that the Roman character is far better suited to children. We make a great mistake in thinking that in employing it to teach children their own language, we must use a lot of dots and marks. In reading English we do not think of the sounds of the different letters. Many letters represent different sounds in different words, but that does not bother us at all. An Indian boy who has been speaking his own dialect all his life does not need dots and accents to show him, for instance, whether a vowel is long or short. My conclusion is that we should print books for Indian children in the Roman character without any diacritical marks at all. The village boy does not require marks to enable him to distinguish between a dental sound and a cerebral sound. Looking at the question practically, we have this enormous population of illiterate people, and it is our duty to do the best we can to teach them to read and write and make simple calculations. It is very difficult to get them to go to school.

They do not much care for education, and they do not see the advantage of it. The difficulty of learning to read and write is one of the reasons. We ought to make it optional for them to adopt the new script. There should be no compulsion about it. There has been a great fight in the north of India on the question of scripts. Those who have used the Nagari character look on it as somewhat sacred, because their sacred books are written in it ; on the other hand, those whose sacred books are written in the Arabic character attach a sort of sanctity to that form of script. The Mahometan might object to having his children taught the Nagari character, and the Hindu might object to having his children taught the Arabic character ; but objection to the introduction of the Roman character, if there is any at all, is not likely to be felt in the same degree. All the educated men have learned English in that character, and although it is the character used by Europeans, there is no such feeling of opposition to it. School-books should be printed in the Nagari character or the Arabic, or any other desired, and on the opposite page have the same words printed in the Roman character without any diacritical marks at all. If that were done, I believe it would not be very long before most teachers and scholars would have ceased to read the Oriental character and adopted the Roman. I suggest that mission schools might well lead the way in adopting this plan of printing school-books in both characters.

MR. DANIEL JONES, Lecturer on Phonetics at University College, London, thought that everyone would agree that Mr. Knowles's scheme for the solution of the important question of a uniform script for India was very full of interest. It seemed to him most admirably adapted for this purpose. The fundamental principle upon which the system was based was thoroughly sound, and should, he thought, be taken to heart by all who tried to construct a Romanic script for any language. The principle to which he referred was that of adopting new types for typical sounds which were not already represented by any single Romanic letter, diacritical marks being only resorted to to represent shades of sounds and not for typical sounds. For instance, a new symbol for the sound of *ng* was easier for a native to learn than the combination of the two letters. He felt bound to say that there would be a better chance of attaining uniformity of script if a few minor alterations were made in the symbols. It was a pity to invent new symbols or to use symbols which were very little known when there were already in existence widely used Romanic symbols denoting precisely the same sounds. An excellent Romanic alphabet based on precisely the same principles as that of Mr. Knowles had been constructed some twenty years ago. It was known as the International Phonetic Alphabet, and it had become extraordinarily widespread in recent years. Many of the new symbols were identical in the two systems. The fact that there was that similarity, although the systems were constructed absolutely independently, showed, he thought, that they were both constructed on the right basis, and on what he (the speaker) believed to be the only possible basis. The International Phonetic Alphabet was already largely used in books and by language teachers. Specimens of a very large number of languages had been written by means of it from Chinese and

Japanese to South African native languages, and the language of Ojibwa Indians in North America. The International Phonetic system was composed by an international council of language specialists, and was designed to meet the requirements, not of one particular language, but of all. If Mr. Knowles could see his way to making the few modifications which were necessary to bring his scheme into line with the International Phonetic system, the Phonetic Association would not only follow with increased interest the progress of his scheme, but would be willing to co-operate actively in promoting it.

MR. B. DUBÉ spoke of the lecture as "nonsense"—(Order! Order!)—and said the Englishman expected everybody to learn to read his language and to adapt himself to his way of thinking. He (Mr. Dubé) was as far from the lecturer as were the poles asunder, and nobody who had thought of the subject from the linguist's point of view, or the Indian point of view, or the rational point of view, could doubt that the lecture was absurd. He was quite prepared to make a bet with the lecturer to any amount that there were thousands of Indian words that it was quite impossible to write by using the signs which he advocated. He quite agreed that a Commission should be appointed to take evidence as to which script should be adopted. It should be composed of linguists and Indians who knew the Indian languages. If the report of the Commissioners was in favour of Hindi, then the United Kingdom should be prepared to submit to that report and to change its own characters completely. The case must not be prejudged. It only took him three or four hours to learn the Nagari character, and the next day he was able to read and write it. He thought that there was some political significance behind the movement. (No! No!) He desired the revival of Hinduism. He could assure Mr. Knowles and all who thought imperially that in the battle of languages his system had absolutely no chance of success.

MR. M. T. KADHERBHOY said that he had heard the lecture with very great interest. He thought that the system proposed needed some modification; but a reform in the direction indicated seemed desirable.

MR. T. C. HODSON said that missionaries had utilized the Welsh alphabet in the Khasia Hills, where they found no written character. In the Garo Hills the Bengali character, a derivative of the Devanagari, was used, while in the grammars of Angami Naga, Lusei, and Thado-Kuki the Roman character was used. All these systems worked very well. Throughout the hills of Assam the vernaculars were changing from generation to generation, as these dialects were still in a fluid state, which made it difficult scientifically to formulate a definite system of transliteration. They found in many places that the dialects differed in neighbouring villages. It would certainly be a great advantage to have one character, but there were likely to be political as well as religious difficulties in the way.

In Manipur there existed an indigenous character—viz., the Bengali character and also the Roman character. At one time in the history of the state the Burmese character threatened to be a serious competitor, but nowadays the real competition was between the Bengali and the Roman character, and he had found that the latter was at a serious disadvantage,

because such sacred books as the Bhagavad Gita, the Ramayan, and the Mahabharat were not available in the Roman character, and unless someone undertook the task of transliterating all these books, and perhaps others into the Roman character as well as of translating them into Meithei, the ultimate victory of Bengali characters seemed assured. A further difficulty, which appealed to philologists very peculiarly, arose from the fact that the pronunciation of written characters varied considerably. Thus in the dialect of Bengali spoken in Eastern Bengal the character written as "chh" was given the sound of "sh" and the initial "s" sound was pronounced as an aspirate. If the system were based on the written form, the variation of pronunciation would not be evident, but it ought to be evident, as it was a phonetic fact of some interest and importance. If the system were based on the spoken form, the divergence of the spoken from the written form would still have to be explained. In Tibetan and Burmese the written forms differ very considerably from the spoken forms, because the spoken word had been subject to evolutionary processes of growth and decay. It would be found, too, that further complications would ensue when it was attempted to extend this or any system to languages which depended on tonal modifications. The existence of all these difficulties went some way to prove the need for a system, but it should be a system capable of considerable elasticity, because it would deal with languages still in a state of vigorous growth, not with dead languages whose final condition had been attained.

MR. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL said that he had been profoundly impressed with the idealism of the lecturer. It seemed to him that there in the very heart of London, in Caxton Hall, creators were sitting in council, and that was the difficulty about the whole scheme. If they had had a clean slate, Mr. Knowles's alphabet would have been admirable; but the difficulty was that the slate had been written on, and rewritten on, for thousands of years. An alphabet that had travelled through thousands of years must have made the slates exceedingly clumsy. He was not an Esperantist, and he did not understand how an alphabet could be made absolutely separate from the language which it was meant to express. The problem was, with a grammar based on the same linguistic structure, with slight local differentiation, and working on common, fundamental, philological, and logical bases, to remove a difficulty which had arisen on account of mere difference in alphabet. Letters were not something which fell from heaven. They grew and sent out their roots into hearts and lives and social institutions. Every letter of the Sanscrit alphabet meant more than English letters. He was sure that Mr. Knowles's scheme, like all ambitious creations, would be absolutely futile.

MISS BUTCHER said that the question of the graphic representation of thought was a very important matter. It struck her that perhaps some might say, "Physician, heal thyself." In English there were one hundred and four ways of writing thirteen vowel sounds. If we had known how to make the printer obey our commands instead of allowing him to dictate to us, we should long ago have had "Printing Reform." There was a system called "Orthotype," which, by means of eight marks, these marks

not being diacritical, represents the sounds of the English language absolutely phonetically without altering a single letter of the spelling. When letters were covered all over with dots and dashes, it was impossible to read or understand them. Why should not all the irregularities in a language be obliterated by printing above the misleading letters by means of an interlinear type a few simple signs, something like Pitman's? Then if all the languages of India, English included, were written in one legible phonographic script, we should be freed from the reproach that whereas the Indian writes *his* Classics phonetically, *we* have no characters to denote correctly the vowel sounds.

MR. VYASA RAO said that he could bear witness to the reputation which Mr. Knowles bore as a very assiduous literary student, and, therefore, they could altogether get rid of the idea that politics had anything to do with the question. The desire for a uniform script was the necessary outcome of several scripts, just as the desire for a uniform language was the necessary outcome of several languages. The whole question had been, to his mind, solved in Southern India, where Mr. Knowles had been labouring. If anybody could employ a script which represented the sounds which were to be found in the Sanscritist languages and the sounds which were to be found in the Dravidian languages, that script would be the ideal uniform script. This had been done by the *Granta* (?) script, which had no language behind it, and was intended to be a mere medium for the eye. The adoption of the Romanic script for Indian languages was as difficult as the adoption of a reformed phonetic script in Europe, and any attempt to introduce the Romanic character would end in failure.

THE REV. J. KNOWLES said that with regard to Mr. Jones's criticism, he, personally, would be perfectly willing to make the two or three changes referred to so as to bring the scheme into more perfect agreement with that of the International Phonetic Association, if they were considered better. He had taken the letters as he found them elaborated by Sir Isaac Pitman, Mr. A. J. Ellis, the members of the British Phonetic Council, and the American Phonetic Council who represented the Phonetic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the philologists and phonographers of the United States and British North America, and comprised nearly all the learned men in the United Kingdom. The symbols were easy to read, were facile to write, and there was plenty of type available for printing them.

He was very anxious to conciliate his Indian friends and to assure them that politics were as far from his thoughts as anything could possibly be. Missionaries never meddled with politics in any shape or form whatever, and he hoped they would give him credit for being actuated by a love of India and a desire to promote her interests. It was an accomplished Sanscrit and Persian scholar in the south of India—Kerala Varma, F.M.U., the Consort of Her Highness the Senior Ranee of Travancore—who had encouraged and helped him in introducing Romanic letters. He (the lecturer) had since then sent him specimens in Malayalam, and the reply was, "This is very beautiful and quite easy to read." He also sent a specimen of Sinhalese, and the reply was, "I am quite ignorant of the

language, but I can fully appreciate the simple system of transliteration. It is very easy to read, facile to write, and more suitable for printing than any existing alphabet." Such an Indian authority as Babu Saradanacharan Mitra of Calcutta had written to him saying that the Romanic letter suggestions had been placed before the committee of the Ek-lipi-vistar-parishad (Uniform Script Conference), and that a subcommittee had been appointed to consider the Romanic scheme of script for India, and concluding with saying, "I with the other members of the committee are highly obliged to you." Mr. Mitra in another letter wrote: "The Roman script has the advantage of universality; it is the script of the civilized world. But it has shortcomings. It has an unscientific arrangement; it is very defective, and the names of its letters do not correspond with the sounds they represent." Mr. Mitra went on to say: "If, however, Europe and America would give up their conservatism, and adopt the scientific arrangement of the Indian alphabet, and name letters according to the sounds they are intended to represent—give up redundancy and fill up imperfections—I do not see why India should not adopt a script which would be universal and capable of being written with facility." The same points were dealt with in the January number of *The Indian Review*. The Hon. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar of Madras practically agreed with Mr. Mitra. He writes in the *Review*: "If the Roman script will from to-morrow be used for the purpose of expressing the sounds of the languages of the various parts in India, I am not here prepared to deny that there will be very great advantages." But the Hon. Member of the Madras Council raised the objection of the incompleteness and redundancy of the ordinary Roman letters.

He (Mr. Knowles) considered that the deficiencies of the ordinary Roman alphabet were entirely obviated, and all the difficulties of accurate transliteration and phonetic representation overcome by the addition of the phonotypic letters which Sir Isaac Pitman, Mr. A. J. Ellis, and others had worked out. By the use of the Romanic script which was suggested for optional use enough money could be saved to educate the whole of India. By present methods and indigenous scripts even if the educational grants were quadrupled the education of all the people could not be accomplished. Magazines, newspapers, recognized leaders in India, were pleading for a common alphabet.

Let a Commission be appointed to consider the whole question quietly and carefully, and to take as their first consideration the interests of India. With a well-devised scheme of Romanic letters, it was possible to teach the illiterates of India, each one in his own vernacular or dialect, in a week. The interests of India in simple letters were so vast that they deserved the most careful consideration from the Government, and that was all he would ask.

DR. JOHN POLLEN (Honorary Secretary) said that it was his pleasant duty to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Knowles for his admirable lecture. It was impossible to imagine anything fairer than the way in which he had put the question before the meeting. He had replied very happily, he thought, to the criticisms which had been levelled against him in a spirit

with which they were somewhat familiar. Twenty-seven or twenty-eight years ago he (Dr. Pollen) embarked on a transliteration scheme in the interests of the people of Sind, where he was then the Assistant-Commissioner, and he discovered, to his dismay, that people could become intensely patriotic even about the form of a letter. Symbols meant, perhaps, more than practical people thought, and one had to make allowance for sentiment and the sentimental feelings alluded to. He now knew that patriots could become very patriotic about an alphabet even in the West, for he realized this when he found that the names of the streets in the good old town in which he was born, written for centuries in Roman characters, had all been rewritten in Irish characters, which very few Irishmen could read or understand. Everyone must be thoroughly satisfied, however, that Mr. Knowles had put forward his proposals in the best interests of the people of India according to his light. He was eager to conciliate his opponents, and get the Reform introduced, not because he had anything to gain by it, not because he wanted to make the dominant race more dominant, but simply because he knew and loved the people of India. He (Dr. Pollen) was delighted to hear the Chairman say that he had come to the same conclusion about transliteration that he himself had come to twenty-five years ago in very much the same way, and that was by going about amongst the people, sitting on the grass, or on the boundary mounds, or under trees, talking to them, getting them to utter their native sounds and then putting these sounds into modified forms of the Roman character. Mr. Knowles was quite ready to modify his proposals, if it could be shown that other symbols would be more useful. In that way they would get at last the best alphabet. It was a question of the "World for India," and not simply of India for herself. There was a grander and nobler field for India than "India for India." Her sons should be able to claim the world, and the proposals of the lecturer would enable them to press that claim with a greater chance of success. He moved a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Some details of the scheme of transliteration to which Dr. Pollen alluded as proposed for Sind are set forth below.

In a letter to the Commissioner of Sind so long ago as 1883, Dr. Pollen wrote as follows : "Leaving out of question the enormous amount of time (to say nothing of money) now spent in learning printing and writing a motley host of grotesque (if sometimes picturesque), utterly unnecessary, minutely difficult, and often practically undecipherable, characters, the great gain to the literary world of both Continents which would arise from the establishment of a common alphabet cannot be exaggerated. The literary resources of the East would be opened up to the learning of the West, and the learning of the West would become far more widely available throughout the East than it is at present. Gradually all the hieroglyphic writing of the East would be transliterated into the English or Roman character (that is, into the best alphabetical forms which the combined intelligence of Greece and Rome could evolve from its inheritance of Phœnician learning), and Eastern literature would be no longer concealed behind the confusing curtain of a forbidding alphabet. Scientific and social culture would become more general, and the interchange of thought and experience

between the East and West were real and honest. That it is possible to get rid of an old alphabet in favour of the pure Roman characters is shown by Germany's success in substituting the latter for the monkish distortions of Latin letters, which have commonly passed as "the original Gothic character." It is true that Prince Bismarck is opposed to the change, but, in spite of the desire of their ablest statesman to stereotype the ancient alphabet, the common sense of the modern nation demands, and is enforcing the change. Of course I have been alluding all throughout to the written symbols, the signs that meet the eye. All pronunciation of those signs and symbols must be taught necessarily ; just as at present, by the hearing of the ear."

The other quotation cited by Dr. Pollen consisted of an extract from a letter written by an accomplished Sindhi scholar, a noble Christian gentleman, who had the good of the people at heart, and who had justly acquired a widely extended influence in the Province of Sind—viz., the Rev. Mr. Shirt. In criticizing the scheme he said : "I hold that the Roman alphabet could be adopted to the Sindhi language more satisfactorily and more economically both in time and money than the Arabic characters, and quite as much so as the Devanagari. These are to my mind weighty arguments."

A great storm of controversy broke over Dr. Pollen's scheme of transliteration for Sind. Some native gentlemen supported his views, but others used the very same arguments against the proposed change which were voiced by Mr. Dubé and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal at the reading of Mr. Knowles's paper.

In closing the discussion, Dr. Pollen wrote as follows to the *Sind Times* on December 23, 1885 :

"SIR,

"At the risk of wearying some of your readers, I trust you will allow me to give a last and general answer to the gentlemen who still insist that it is impossible to transliterate "Sindhi" into readable Roman characters.

"My reply is that such transliteration is not only possible, but, if done gradually, a comparatively simple matter, and it is gratifying to find that no real difficulty or objection has been raised to the change I advocate.

"If it be true that by *feeling nine or ten* Roman symbols eighty blind people of different nationalities can learn to read each his own native language fluently and correctly, why cannot (if they are so disposed) eighty different nations blessed with eyes do the same by *seeing twenty* Roman symbols ?

"It must be remembered that I have advocated no violent change ; all I have done is to ask the enlightened gentlemen of Sind, in the interests of their children and their children's children, and of the literary world of both Continents, to consider the possibility of initiating a great reform, by gradually getting rid of the complex, confusing, and utterly unnecessary, triple sets of hieroglyphics (viz., Hindu-Sindhi, Arabic-Sindhi, Gurmukhi), imposed upon this province by Captain Stack, by Mr. (now Sir Barrow) Ellis, and by the weaker sex.

"Already in all Government Account Offices, Roman numerals have taken the place of Native numerals to the comfort of all concerned; and what has been done for figures, can also in time be done for letters."

"Let, then, the main point not be lost sight of! Improve the English alphabet by all means, and let us get as close to common ground as possible, but let there be no talk of substituting one Eastern hieroglyphic for another! The star that rose in the East now shines in the West, and to it must the nations seek. The choice lies not between one set of Indian characters and another, but between progression and retrogression, between 'Peninsularity' and 'Universality,' between 'Narrowness' and 'Catholicity.' I can see that some are disposed to reject the stone I have offered, but for all that (I must be pardoned for hoping) it will become the head of the corner."

"In conclusion, I must apologize to those whose predilections for Eastern calligraphy have led them to resent my attack on the graceful, if motley, host of Oriental hieroglyphics. I can assure these gentlemen that my suggestion for a common Roman alphabet arose from no want of appreciation for the stately Sanscrit or picturesque Persian, but from the conviction that the adoption of common Roman symbols is essential to the literary progress of the Indian nation."

"I can afford to let pass the insinuations that my proposals have been suggested by, or for, my own convenience; for I think few European officers can make the regretful boast *dixisse poteram* with respect to Oriental and other alphabets more truly than I can. I even forced the 'almost unlearnable Bengali' to yield, and I think I rent the veil of the hieroglyphics of the South fairly successfully!"

"The idea, too, that I approached the subject of transliteration for the convenience of the few Europeans who are required to pass an examination in Sindhi is amusing. There are some critics and writers, I know, who

'Take the rustic murmur of their bourg
For the great wave that echoes round the world.'

"But, when I wrote and spoke, I was thinking of the convenience of thousands (I had almost said millions) of Eastern and Western scholars, whose thoughts enrich the blood of the world, and who now find their progress in knowledge barred by what I may call 'the literal break of gauge.'

"At any rate—be the worth of my suggestion what it may—the motive for it and its feasibility are, I trust, clear to all fair and non-obfuscated critics; and, inasmuch as I am a firm believer in the reality of the education of educated natives, I cannot believe that my counsel has been 'sown in salt.'

"I honour the efforts that are being made to 'cut prejudice against the grain'; I know that due allowance must be made for the weakness of peers; and I am the last person in this world to advocate a union with 'Raw Haste—half-sister to Delay.'

"I have, etc.,

"(Signed) J. POLLEN.

"December 20, 1885."

MR. DUBÉ said that he had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks. The fact that the lecturer was a Missionary and an Englishman made him start from one point of view, and the fact that Indians were Hindus or Mahomedans made them start from a totally different point of view, and their convictions must clash unless there could be a compromise whereby honest linguistic merit was likely to prevail ; but of that there was no hope, and, therefore, compromise was an impossibility. All the same, he had very sincere pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, which was carried unanimously.

COLONEL SIR REGINALD HENNELL, said : I have very great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to Sir James Wilson for his able conduct in the chair this evening. I was attracted to this meeting in consequence of receiving the notice of the subject for debate, a subject which appealed to me most strongly. I went to India fifty years ago, and, on taking up the study of Indian languages, the very point which this meeting has been discussing this evening, struck me as constituting one of the greatest difficulties in acquiring a knowledge of the written vernaculars. I remember well, when in 1861, the amalgamation of the Forces under the Crown took place, Government insisted that all the old Indian officers should pass an examination in the Hindustani language, both written and oral. Most of these experienced officers had lived with and amongst their Sepoys, and could speak the native language of their men, whatever it happened to be, almost as well as the Sepoys themselves. But Government was not satisfied with this, but insisted on all their officers passing an examination in the written characters as well. I suppose I myself had an inborn taste for languages, for, before I was twenty-four years of age, I found myself sitting on Committees and examining officers old enough to be my father. It was, no doubt, a somewhat invidious position to occupy, and I often found, when I came to test the examinees in the written character, whether Arabic or Nagari, that many of these fine old officers were frequently quite at sea, and they could only read well those portions of the textbook which they had learnt by heart. They were thus guided by their memory more than by their eye. They found great difficulty in learning the written character, and I think I can state with confidence that during my thirty years' service I rarely met a military officer, who could, or did, *write* a letter in the vernacular to anyone, although many of them could *speak* the language fluently. Of course I do not refer to political officers. I believe I was the first Bombay officer to pass the interpreters' test in the Persian language. That was forty years ago, and I have still no difficulty in reading and writing Persian in the Arabic character. I mention this because the lecturer has incidentally raised the question as to which is the easier, the Hindi (Nagari character), or the Urdu (Arabic character). I think I can give positive proof on this point, for I passed in both these languages more than forty years ago, and, although I can still write the Arabic character with ease, I fear I cannot write correctly one word in the Nagari. My own name can be written in Persian or Arabic, but it cannot be correctly written in Nagari ! When we consider all that has fallen from the lecturer, and the difficulties that well educated officers find in mastering

the Indian script, is it not practically certain that the uneducated Indian child would experience even greater difficulties? It is, therefore, the interests of these Indian children that we have been considering this evening, and it is "in the best interests of the people of India generally," that the lecturer has urged the adoption of some simpler script than the Nagari and similar characters as a means of spreading knowledge. I fear our Indian friends who have spoken this evening have taken a somewhat mistaken view of the matter. I feel quite certain that there is no wish on anybody's part to interfere with the stately Sanscrit or picturesque Persian. These tongues are the classical tongues of Hindustan, and the educated people of India will never abandon these glorious classics. Nor does any one wish that they should, for these languages are to India what Latin and Greek have proved for generations to the people of the West. Those who aspire to be educated men will still study these great languages which are still "living" though sometimes described as "dead," and those who desire to understand India with its great history and glorious past will always go to the Sanscrit language and study it in the Nagari character. A thousand years ago Persian was practically an unknown tongue in India! It came in with the Persian Conquerors and remained for centuries the language of the Courts. But these Mogul invaders found such a mass of languages obtaining in India, that they experienced considerable difficulty in making themselves understood and carrying on intercourse with the natives of the country. They consequently evolved a *lingua Franca*—viz., the "Urdú," a camp language of their own, a combination of Persian and Hindi and written in the Arabic and Nagari characters, and this gradually spread over the whole country as a common language for all, and is now known as "Hindustani." This Urdú or Hindustani exists to-day side by side with the great Sanscrit and other indigenous tongues without interfering with them in any way. In some of the native courts of India, Persian is still the Court language, just as in Europe at the present day the Court language remains French, though French is no longer the predominant language of the West. I would therefore ask our Indian friends not to run away with the false idea that there is any desire to interfere with the great languages of India amongst which Sanscrit must always reign supreme. All that the lecturer desires is to give the hundreds of millions of people of India a written character which can be easily learnt and will tend to bring them more and more into touch with one another and with the world at large. In this spirit the lecturer has spoken, and in the same spirit I move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir James Wilson who has so ably presided this evening, and has supported the lecturer's views by giving us his own valuable experiences in considering the best form for a common script.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT BANKS.

SIR,

I was surprised to see in Colonel Yate's review on M. Chailley's book, "Administrative Problems of British India," in the October (1910) number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*, the assertion that co-operative credit banks "have proved a failure in India"; and again, "It is evident from the facts given by M. Chailley that the agricultural banks in India were not well managed. It is more than probable that the thrifless cultivator, having already mortgaged his holding to the *banya* to the uttermost price, proceeded to exploit the agricultural credit bank to the best of his ability." Presumably, the views of the writer of the article were based on the information given by M. Chailley in his book; but on referring to the latter, I can find only one mention of these societies. It occurs on pages 251, 252, where a reference is made to certain agricultural banks started in the Native State of Mysore in 1898—*i.e.*, six years before the Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed. The author states that these institutions are in a rotten condition; "there was, in fact, no proper management, and the loans seem to have been made recklessly, and to persons for whom they were not really intended," and he quotes their continued appearance in official publications as an example of the tendency in Native States to take

credit for reforms which are not in reality carried out. It is apparently on this slender basis that the writer of the article bases his views as to the failure of co-operative credit societies. Except for a few spasmodic efforts, the real co-operative movement in India dates only from 1904, the year in which the Co-operative Credit Act was passed, and Registrars were appointed in the larger provinces to supervise its working. Of what has been accomplished since that date let Mr. H. W. Wolff, the veteran co-operator, who has studied the subject in many lands, tell us. Here are his words in the new edition of "Peoples' Banks," published in 1910: "It is evident that the institution of co-operative credit has gained a foothold in India, and revealed its efficacy as a remedy for distress and backwardness—a remedy of greater utility than anything that State tutelage or State financing could have produced. It has brought money to many a spot thirsting for it, generally in the right way; in many cases it has replaced hopeless insolvency by solvency already attained or else in prospect; there are, at any rate, hundreds, probably thousands, who have by the aid of this helpful ally effectually liberated themselves from the usurer's yoke; there are villages in which the *mahajan* and the *sowcar* now find their occupation gone. The institution has accordingly inspired new hope into the debt-burdened *rayats*, and opened to them a way to higher existence. At the same time, it has already quickened their intelligence and awakened their power of thought, understanding of business, and sense of responsibility." "The progress made," as Mr. Wolff states in another place, "is quite phenomenal." The subject is attracting more and more attention as it is better understood; questions relating to it are constantly being ventilated in the Press; co-operative conferences are being held in all the larger provinces. Only last year a paper was read before the East Indian Association itself, and was followed by an interesting discussion. All this shows a sound and rapid progress, and it is a little discouraging to

those responsible for the healthy growth of the movement to be bluntly told by a retired Indian official, and in a periodical specially devoted to Indian subjects, that the whole system is a failure.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
I.C.S.

Lucknow.

UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS.

A Congress, which promises to be one of the most influential of our time, is to be held in London, July 26-29, 1911, in the central building of the University of London. The list of those who have extended to it their moral support is most imposing. Among the supporters, who hail from no less than fifty countries, are over thirty Presidents of Parliament, several Cabinet Ministers of the British Parliament, the majority of the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the delegates to the Second Hague Conference, twelve British Governors and eight British Premiers, over forty Colonial Bishops, some hundred and thirty Professors of International Law, the leading anthropologists and sociologists, the officers and the majority of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and other distinguished personages. The list of the writers of papers includes eminent representatives of over twenty civilizations, and every paper referring to a particular people is prepared by someone of high standing belonging to it.

The object of the Congress will be to discuss, in the light of modern knowledge and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation. Political issues of the hour will be subordinated to this comprehensive end, in the firm belief that, when once mutual respect is established, difficulties of every type will be sympathetically approached and readily solved.

Resolutions of a political character will not be submitted.

The following is the programme for the eight half day sessions : 1. Fundamental Considerations—Meaning of Race, Tribe, Nation. 2-3. General Conditions of Progress. 3a. Peaceful Contact between Civilizations. 4. Special Problems in Inter-Racial Economics. 5-6. The Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions. 7-8. Positive Suggestions for promoting Inter-Racial Friendliness.

Among the writers of papers are Sir Sydney Olivier, Governor of Jamaica ; Sir Charles Bruce, late Governor of Mauritius ; Sir John Macdonell, Master of the Supreme Court ; Sir Harry Johnston, the famous explorer ; Sir Charles Dilke ; Professors Rhys Davids, Mackenzie, Margoliouth, Myers ; the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, Principal Brajendranath Seal of India, and Sister Nivedita ; M. Léon Bourgeois, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, and M. Alfred Fouillée, from France ; Signor Dr. G. Sergi, from Italy ; Professor Felix Adler, Professor Reinsch, Professor Franz Boas, Frederick C. Croxton, Chief Statistician, David Lubin, and Edwin Mead, from the United States ; His Excellency Wu Ting-Fang, of China ; His Excellency Sumitaka Haseba, President of the Japanese Chamber of Deputies ; Professors Tongo Takebe and Teruaki Kobayashi ; His Excellency Saïd Bey, President of the Legislative Section of the Ottoman Council of State ; Hadji Mirza Yahya, of Persia ; Moh. Sourour Bey, of Egypt ; Dr. Alexander Yastchenko and Dr. Zamenhof, of Russia ; Professors Edv. Lehmann, von Luschan, Schücking, and Tönnies, of Germany ; Dr. Navratil and Dr. Timon, of Hungary ; Israel Zangwill, representing Jewish culture ; M. H. La Fontaine, of Belgium ; Dr. Christian L. Lange, of Norway ; Dr. J. H. Abendanon, of Holland ; Dr. de Lacerda, of Brazil ; Alfred H. Fried, of Austria ; General Légitime, of Hayti ; Tengo Jabavu, of South Africa ; and Dr. DuBois and Dr. Walker, of the United States, representing the negro races ; Dr. Ohiyesa, representing American Indians ; and other distinguished personages.

It is proposed also to hold in connection with the Congress an exhibition of books, documents, photographs of the highest human types, skulls, charts, etc. The exhibition is under the direction of Dr. Alfred C. Haddon, Sc.D., F.R.S., and promises to be of vital interest.

A prospectus and further particulars will be sent free of charge on application to the Hon. Secretary of the Congress, Mr. G. Spiller, 63, South Hill Park, Hampstead, London.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

I. *From Haussaland to Egypt*, by H. KARL W. KUMM, PH.D. Dr. Kumm, who is one of those self-sacrificing men interested in the attempt to christianise the still pagan negro races and so stop the spread of Islam, has written a very excellent account of his wonderful journey from one side of Africa to the other across the Soudan. He traversed a portion of British Nigeria and then proceeded to the little known banks of the Benué, crossing into German Africa. Then came the march through the country of the Lam pagans by the River Shari to the French Fort Archambault. From this "ultima Thule" of European civilization, as he calls it, he traversed a difficult region where the people were cannibals, and where his cattle died, until he came to the Sinussi Kingdom, the last stronghold of the slave raiders. The crossing of the Kotto, which he had to bridge, gave much trouble and forms a most exciting chapter of adventure, led Dr. Kumm into the Nile region of Bahr-el-Ghazal, and after that his adventurous march, during which he remained on good terms with all the peoples he passed through, ended at Khartum.

This meagre sketch of Dr. Kumm's route shows what a fine undertaking his journey was, but it has to be read in his own words. He tells of his palavers (always successful) with hostile chiefs, both Moslem and pagan. He gives fascinating narratives of his shooting big game, elephants, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, hartebeest, wart-hog, etc., and

copious and valuable notes on the fauna and flora. He is always interesting on the subject of native customs and habits, and he has much to tell, for he met the "beak-faced" women of the Sara-Kabba, and the Nyam-Nyam cannibals. Above everything he has a way of making us realize the size of the country he traversed in few words. Wadai (the French conquest) is called "about the size of Italy," and the country that Sinussi has secured by treaty with the French is "a territory about the size of France." If length were necessary to show appreciation, the author's work deserves a much longer notice than this one. He is evidently an African traveller of the same type as Dr. Livingstone, to whose memory he dedicates his book.—

A. F. S.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS; SHANGHAI.

2. *Calendrier Annuaire pour 1911.* (Ninth year of issue.) It will be observed that, since 1909, the price of this wonderful publication has been raised from one dollar to one dollar and a half; but when it is remembered that its size has now been doubled, and that it contains 300 pages of total matter, including tables, charts, and so on, it cannot be said that, with the Mexican dollar at an average of 1s. 9d., the price of half-a-crown is dear. The leading features of the Calendar remain, as is natural, much as before, as, in fact, must necessarily be the case with calendars, all of which are differentiated only by slight annual alterations, just as is the case with the indispensable but periodically changed railway guide. Yet there are, as usual with each successive issue, some special features in this latest number which call for special notice: thus, "List of Post-offices according to Districts and Sub-districts." No one would have thought ten years ago, when Sir Robert Hart was getting his new scheme into good working order, that China would have made such rapid and creditable postal progress. Then we have the "Chinese Feasts and Holidays for 1911-12," and the "New Administra-

tive Division of Manchuria,"—this last very badly wanted, for the three Manchurian provinces have really only had an organized existence since the "Boxer" wars of 1900 and the subsequent over-running by Russia and Japan in turn. Then the article on "Catholic Missions" is particularly useful and interesting. Perhaps the most curious novelty of all is "Nebulosity and the Song of Birds"—a curious study undertaken by a young Jesuit priest, as specially gifted, it appears, for philosophic animism of this sort, as the old gentleman, who for forty years past had held sparrow receptions daily in the Tuileries gardens of Paris, and who addresses each bird by name: for this development of special genius the old gentleman in question has just deservedly received the Legion of Honour. Perhaps the special article on "The Birds of Siccawei, with their Names in Latin, French, English, and Chinese," will partly account for the facility with which the young father has been able to watch the changes rung by his feathered companions.—E. H. PARKER.

LIBRAIRIE CH. DELAGRAVE; PARIS.

3. *Anthologie de la Littérature Japonaise, des Origines au XX^e siècle*, by MICHEL REVON, historical lecturer on the Far East at the Paris Faculty of Literature. As M. Revon justly remarks at the outset, a millennium of literary effort did not do half so much to procure for Japan an equal place in proud European estimation as a few shots from her guns and charges by her soldiers in 1904-5; and now Japan is *arrived*, and moreover she is the trusted and equal ally of Great Britain (though she must be careful not to compromise this mutually convenient arrangement by ungenerous financial juggling), so that the rest of Europe, America included, must accept her as an equal too, whether they like it or not. Japanese literature is at best only known abroad to a handful of specialists, and M. Revon, of course, does justice to its history as expounded by Messrs. Aston and Satow, and

also to the efforts of Chamberlain and Dickins. One thing is pretty certain—and this is the reviewer's remark, not the author's—that, so far as writing in pure Chinese is concerned, there is nothing in Japanese literature that appeals to the sense of literary propriety in the same way that the Chinese histories, philosophies, and poems do. In fact, it is impossible; for no Japanese—unless, of course, he makes a study of pure Chinese in China—can possibly conceive those nuances of thought and elegance which are inextricably mixed up with the "tones" and the general rhythm, both totally foreign to the genius of the Japanese tongue. That there may be beauties in the seemingly barren and monotonous Japanese poetry of five or seven monosyllables to the line, which no one unacquainted with Japanese current speech and folk-lore can properly appreciate, is equally undoubted. Is it possible to be Demosthenic in Japanese, even to the extent that it unquestionably is already in multi-dialect Chinese? However, M. Revon's handy little book of nearly 500 pages ought to be studied in the original French, and it may be surmised that the twenty-page historical introduction at least will not be beyond the patience of even the most unsympathetic and sceptical individual.—E. H. PARKER.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION PRESS; SHANGHAI.

4. *English-Chinese Pocket Dictionary: Peking Colloquial*, by SIR WALTER HILLIER, K.C.M.G., C.B. This useful little book is just what students of Pekingese have been eagerly but vainly looking forward to for the past forty years, and Sir W. Hillier, with his long experience as Chinese Secretary of Legation, is precisely the man to carry the work out thoroughly; in fact, it may be said that, from 1867 to 1910, deducting furloughs and "off" periods, he has spent at least thirty years in China, most of it at Peking. When he brought out his "Chinese, and How to Learn It" about four years ago, it was remarked in this *Review* that he had failed to explain therein how the important and

oft-recurring words *yi* ("a" or "one") and *pu* ("not") change their tone according to what is the tone of the following word, and how the unconscious faculty of doing this is the supreme test of a perfect Pekingese speaker (native or foreign). Sir Walter has now partly remedied this omission, though he leaves almost unillustrated the fact that these two words have a third tone on the unfrequent occasions when they terminate a clause or a combination of two or more words. Moreover, there are a few other words, such as *pi* ("must"), which follow their example, though not with such absolute regularity and precision. There are about 30,000 entries in the dictionary, almost all genuinely colloquial, and in nearly every case provided with a recognized lexicographer's (or, at least, an inventive poet's) written character. In some few cases the author has slipped, and given the wrong character; in others, he has not chosen the best substitute. He apologizes for the length of the Errata list—about 100—but if we put at 1,000 the number of slips and misprints, mostly in tones, we shall be within the mark. This, however, is unavoidable, unless the proofs are repeatedly corrected, whilst Sir Walter tells us he had only the opportunity of doing so once. There are two rather serious defects in the work, doubtless owing to "the fact that the compiler claims no knowledge of any dialect but the Peking dialect." It is, of course, permissible to reserve all one's speaking energies for one brogue, but everyone possessing a sound knowledge of no matter what single dialect ought to know the rudiments, at least, of Chinese etymology, so as to understand how to use a Chinese-made dictionary. Thus the failure to distinguish throughout between *i* and *yi*, and, in a great many arbitrarily selected cases, between the vowels *a* and *ə*, strikes at the very root of knowledge, and makes it difficult for a beginner to account for the apparently strange transmogrifications of other dialects, which he *must* listen to, even if he will not speak them. In due course we hope to publish a list, page by page, of from 1,200 to 1,500

slight emendations, which will, it is hoped, render still more useful an aid to knowledge already well-nigh perfect.—E. H. PARKER.

5. *Une Inscription du Yunnan (Mission D'Ollone).* Traduite par M. Chavannes, by F. FARJENEL. Reprint from the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* for October, 1910. Also *Inscription Funéraire de Ts'ouan Pao-ts'en*, being M. CHAVANNES' reply to the above. Reprint from the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* for January, 1911. The first is an acrimonious criticism of M. Chavannes' attempt to translate for the public one of the most difficult pieces of Chinese it is possible to conceive of, and such as even the most learned of Chinamen could not possibly understand in its entirety without frequent reference to aids to memory in the shape of encyclopedias, etc. M. Chavannes' reputation, in any case, is too well established to be shaken by M. Farjenel, who shows himself to be a mere tyro in sinology by the naïve irrelevancy of nearly all his censorious remarks. M. Chavannes' moderate reply ought to settle the question in the minds of all who pretend to a first-hand knowledge of Chinese literature. It is probably by inadvertence that the Royal Asiatic Society has accepted and printed such an inaccurate paper as that of M. Farjenel.—E. H. PARKER.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, by HOSEA BALLOU MORSE. With illustrations, maps, and diagrams. *The Period of Conflict, 1834-1860.* From the fact of the last words of the title being printed upon the title-page in red ink, and, as above indicated, coming after the author's name, sketch of contents, etc., it is permissible to surmise and to hope that there may yet be other volumes to come, as the half-century period 1860-1910 is certainly much richer in developed international relationships than what may be called the quarter-century primitive or incubation period of 1834-1860. At the time these lines are

being written (February), it is understood that the gifted author is lying seriously ill in a highly scholastic city on the Continent of Europe ; but the present volume is one of such sterling value, both from a historical and a statistical point of view, that apart from personal sympathy, it is profoundly hoped that he may speedily recover his wonted health, and be spared for many long years ahead to benefit the world still further by his historical acumen, and to lend further lustre to a family name already exactly a century old in the American records of geographical and scientific knowledge. The British Foreign Office is to be congratulated, moreover, on its good sense, and "for its courtesy in allowing access to the despatches of the time, and for permitting the publication of the despatches, hitherto unpublished, throwing light on many important occurrences, which will be here found among the Appendices." In this connection it may be mentioned that Lord Palmerston's despatch (in the form of a private letter) of April 21, 1841, to Captain Elliot, R.N., is one of the most characteristic and outspoken pieces of official "slating" that ever emanated from the office of that downright statesman, or, in fact, from any European Foreign Office.

The present work throughout is remarkable for its restraint in expression, its soberness and shrewdness of judgment, and its extreme judiciality in administering—always with great aloofness and entire absence of national prejudice—the due meed of praise or blame : there does not appear to be a single instance throughout the book where the author displays "temper"; the Lord Chief Justice of England, or the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, could not have summed up evidence for the jury of the reading world to pronounce upon with more absolute fairness and absence of "colourable" matter ; it is rarely that Mr. Morse even permits himself the luxury of an *obiter dictum*; perhaps the single instance in which he even goes so far as personally to censure an individual is in the case of Mr. Horatio Nelson Lay. As to his own nationals—whether

it be in discussing their share as merchants or as officials in the opium business ; or their absence of diplomatic tact or courage ; their good faith ; or even the far-famed " blood is thicker than water " episode at Taku, in which Captain Tindall (like his sentimental under-study, Captain Sims half a century later) allowed his brotherly feelings to get the better of his official decorum—Mr. Morse marshals his facts with coldly scrupulous accuracy, and leaves us all perfectly free to form our own judgment, without even in the faintest degree insinuating the smallest hint of what he would like our verdict to be. He never " plays to the gallery."

The author appears to have true historical genius in the way in which he gives proper proportion to his evidence and his facts. The utmost care seems to have been taken in every instance scrupulously to ascertain exact dates, and in most important instances the precise authority is cited in foot-notes. The reader feels that he can implicitly trust both the sobriety and the truth of all the statements made, and it is scarcely too much to say that the possession of this one book, dealing with the period of our two (or, more strictly, three) wars with China, renders unnecessary for the future all previously published works upon the same subject. It is the last word. There is, however, a statement on p. 172 that the later Emperors of the Ming dynasty and the earlier ones of the Ts'ing both fulminated edict after edict against the then new vice of tobacco-smoking. We have such absolute confidence in Mr. Morse that we feel sure he must be right; but in this particular case he cites no authority whatever, and it is certainly a pity, for we have never heard the statement made before, though we have taken great pains to unearth tobacco evidences. On p. 439 the remark is made that "the trustworthy records" of rebellions, etc., in Kiaking's, Taokwang's, and Hienfēng's reigns "are few." The *Tung-hwa Luh*, notwithstanding, gives the fullest and most trustworthy details about them, the condensed substance of many of which the present

reviewer has long since published in the *China Review*. On the map facing p. 590 the town Sin-ho captured by the British is given as Si-ho ; possibly the original Admiralty map is to blame. But, generally speaking, it may be said that Mr. Morse's book is not only free from slips, but is above and beyond criticism ; it is written in perfect literary taste, and—if the author will pardon the remark—there is absolutely nothing to suggest that an American wrote or printed it. It is a library in itself, and one of the very few books on China worth buying and treasuring.—E. H. PARKER.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED ; LONDON.

7. *Overland to India*, by SVEN HEDIN ; with 308 illustrations from photographs, water-colour sketches, and drawings by the author, and two maps. This latest work of our modern Marco Polo is the record, in two bulky volumes, of a journey undertaken by him in the winter of 1905-6 from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Indus. Its publication at the present moment might be expected to awaken especial interest, in view of the scheme so recently put forward for the extension of the Russian railway system across Persia to link up with the Anglo-Indian line from Quetta through Baluchistan to its terminus at Nushki. It might well be surmised that the intrepid explorer had with prophetic vision anticipated the proposal to join up the railways of British India with those of the Continent of Europe, and had proceeded to explore the ground destined to be the theatre of the enterprise beforehand. His route lay between Julfa on the Araxes, the terminus of the railway line through Russian Armenia, to Nushki, the extreme western railway station in British Baluchistan. But when we come to examine his itinerary and consult the maps appended to his volumes, we find that his route does not at all coincide with any possible trace of the projected line. Such possible trace must run through fertile provinces and past populous cities, and Mr. Sven Hedin deliberately elected

to traverse the most desert, most impracticable, and most depopulated districts of the Persian kingdom. Countries already explored and described by others have no charm for his adventurous spirit, which finds its delight in discovering the unknown, overcoming what seem to be insuperable obstacles, and achieving what all others have regarded as impossible. So, avoiding the usual easy and frequented caravan routes, he made his way from Teheran through the series of salt deserts and uninhabited wastes which occupies such a large part of Eastern Persia till he emerged at the point where its frontiers meet with those of India and Afghanistan. He had originally intended to travel by rail from the shores of the Black Sea to the Persian frontier; but when he arrived at Batoum he found all Caucasia in a state of anarchy, caused by the events of the Japanese War and the revolutionary movement in Russia. Though the Governor maintained his post in his palace, and the public buildings and banks were guarded by troops, the mob held possession of the town; no trains were running, and the roads were unsafe for travelling. Mr. Sven Hedin transferred his base of operations to Poti, but the situation there was worse. The author compares the Russian rule in the Caucasus with that of Great Britain in India—a rule only made possible by the diversity of creed and race among the subject peoples. As soon as authority was paralyzed by the reduction of the military garrisons, Tartars, Circassians, Lazes, Georgians, and Armenians, instead of combining against the alien government, set to work to massacre and plunder one another, and an indiscriminate civil war raged throughout the country. The traveller finally succeeded in getting a berth on a coasting steamer bound for Trebizond, and from thence started in a horse-drawn carriage on the first stage of his long journey through Turkish Armenia via Erzeroum and Bayazid to the Persian frontier. It is rather surprising to find a practicable carriage road extending so far inland in Turkey, but it was not what would be called a “chemin carrossable” in France or any

civilized country. The roads in Russian Armenia were as rough, but there was a railway there. But at the time of the author's visit the roads in Russia were more unsafe than those in Turkey and Persia. "Travelling in Persia," he says, "is as calm and peaceful as on country roads in Sweden, and exciting adventures are rare." The Consular reports of the state of things on the southern trade routes in Persia just now tell a different tale. At all events, Dr. Sven Hedin took with him as travelling escort two Persian soldiers of the Shah's Cossack Brigade, who proved most efficient and trustworthy guards. This so-called Cossack Brigade shows what excellent stuff for *"chair à canon"* can be furnished by the native races in Persia. The explorer formed his caravan of fifteen or twenty camels (the numbers varied from time to time) in Teheran, and laid in stores of provisions and forage for his long journey through the inhospitable regions which he had to traverse to reach his goal. He makes some scathing remarks on the general rottenness of the systems of government both in Turkey and Persia. The modern maladministration of Turkish Armenia has brought about its own retribution ; the revenues of the country have diminished by two-thirds within the past twelve years. The Kurds and Turks have usurped the lands formerly occupied by Armenians ; but the Kurd never works, and the Turk works as little as he can help, and badly at that. Of Persia he says : " English telegraph lines, Russian roads, Belgian Customs officers—Europe stretches its tentacles and its rapacious forceps into the old, worn-out, decaying Persia." The author has an astonishing mastery of the English language, but now and then a solecism or an awkward expression betrays the foreigner—e.g., he writes of a village being situated "at the foot of a snow-clad massive." When one of his men has a chance encounter with a panther in the desert, he says : " I thought of my long wanderings the day before, and wondered if the panther spied at me." He translates the Persian word Top-khana by "cannon-house," where an Englishman

would have written "gun-shed." And he sometimes introduces a word into his text which may possibly be Swedish, but which is not to be found in an English dictionary. "The water spreads over the furthest fields, and seeps into the dry earth uselessly" (vol. i., p. 199); "the pack-saddles are taken off, and all bits that may lie under the saddle and fridge the skin are removed" (vol. i., p. 345). And "houghs" is an antiquated spelling for the hocks of a horse.

The author's narrative takes the form of a diary, the events and happenings of every day's travel being given with considerable detail and with observations on the natural features of the country, descriptions of the scenery, and calculations of the heights of the eminences and names of the sites in the vicinity. The reader feels that he is accompanying the narrator, and might almost persuade himself that he has made the same journey. The names of places are written down as the traveller heard them from the lips of the natives, and are thus often misspelt. Dr. Sven Hedin's acquaintance with the Persian language is not literary, and his Persian place-names represent the pronunciation as it sounded to his ears; for instance, he writes Siaret for Ziárat, and Imamsadeh for Imamzáda. Churdale oghli Khanlari may possibly represent Sherdil oghli Khánlari (the village of the son of the Lion-hearted). Sa'ab for Sahib, Mushchid for Mujtahid, and Valiad for Vali-ahd, are other natural mistakes. Murat for Murad, and Kumbet for Gumbád, illustrate a peculiar tendency of the Oriental tongue or the European ear to confuse the sounds of *d* and *t*. Thus, the Turkish Targumán (interpreter) becomes Dragoman in European speech, and the name of the famous corsair Torghud Pasha of Tripoli is written as Dragut by European historians. The name of the dromedary, or swift camel, called Ján-báz (which may be freely translated by "gallant") by the Baluchis is written down Jambas by the author.

Dr. Sven Hedin skirted, and in some places crossed and

recrossed, the great salt desert, or series of deserts, called by the Persians the Kevir, an immense barren tract of bog earth crusted over with a saline efflorescence, which an Irishman might describe as a lake turned upside down. It is supposed to be the dried-up bed of an evaporated inland sea, and local tradition maintains that ships once floated upon its waters, and that it was the habitat of the whale which swallowed Nabi Yunus (the prophet Jonah). It can be crossed by camels in dry weather, but not without risk, for a shower of rain converts it into a Serbonian bog, where whole armies might sink. This desert tract is interspersed with cultivated oases, which serve as stations on the route for travellers and caravans. All through South-Eastern Persia the ruins of towns and villages, mosques and fortresses, caravanserais and irrigation canals, tell of a time when the country was prosperous and populous, as it must have been when it was traversed by the army of Alexander the Great, to whose line of march, and the considerations which determined it, the author devotes a chapter. He attributes the decline in the prosperity and population of the region more to changed climatic conditions than to the evil influences of war and maladministration. Northern Persia has suffered more from the ravages of war, and has been equally badly governed, yet still remains in a comparatively flourishing condition. But the change of climate may be, partly at least, due to the destruction of plantations and irrigation works caused by prevailing conditions of unrest and insecurity.

The horrors of plague and famine which were devastating Seistan when Dr. Sven Hedin passed through the province might assuredly have been mitigated by administrative foresight and sanitary precautions. The scarcity of grain was largely due to the operations of regraters, while the infection was spread broadcast among the people by the very means which they adopted to allay it—religious processions and prayer-meetings. How the plague was brought into Seistan could not be ascertained; the nearest

affected area in India was 600 miles distant. Fortunately it spread no further into Persia. But its ravages in the province were frightfully severe, and whole villages were entirely depopulated by it. The dead lay unburied in the streets of the towns, and were devoured by dogs and vultures. English doctors were sent from India to assist in combating the disease, but they could effect but little in the face of the ignorance and fanaticism of the people and the indifference of the authorities.

These volumes are embellished with some fine coloured plates, and with a great number of photographs taken by the author *en route* of persons, places, and natural scenery. There are also a number of pencil sketches made by him from the life of men, women, boys, and girls, which present an interesting collection of Persian types. The original Persians were of Aryan race, but their blood had probably imbibed a considerable Semitic strain even before the time of the Muhammadan Conquest. The ancient type subsists in its purest form among the Parsis, who at that epoch emigrated to India. The country lying between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf was the high-road for successive migrations of Semitic Arabs from the westward, and Mongolian Turks and Tartars from the eastward; and the blood of three of the great divisions of the human family has been mixed in the modern Persians. To these may be added a fourth strain in the intermixture of negro blood due to the traffic in slaves between Eastern Africa and the lands bordering on the Persian Gulf—a traffic now happily almost, if not altogether, extinct.

The maps, which were plotted by the versatile explorer as he jogged along on the back of his swift-striding camel, have been reduced and reconstructed by a Swedish engineer officer and expert cartographer.

Pictures, photographs, and maps have all been faithfully and cleverly reproduced, and the work of the printers and publishers of these volumes is worthy of the interest of their contents.—F. H. T.

8. *The Glory of the Shia World: The Tale of a Pilgrimage*, translated and edited from a Persian manuscript by MAJOR P. M. SYKES, C.M.G., assisted by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din Khan, with many illustrations in the text and four coloured reproductions from Persian paintings. Those who have read Major Sykes' previous works on Persia will expect to be entertained by anything from his pen on his favourite subject, and in this, his latest work, they will not be disappointed. The author's intimate knowledge of Persia and its people has enabled him to present us with a most interesting book; and the reader will learn more from its perusal of the life and customs of the Shias than could be obtained from a prolonged journey through the country. In no other work that we recollect do we get such a faithful representation of the Persian marriage ceremony, giving details of the curious betrothal, arrangements for the wedding, and the wedding ceremony itself. The account of the rise to power of Mahomed Hassan Khan and his death in the salt swamp is a faithful rendering, depicted with the utmost fidelity in every detail, which will appeal to anyone who has travelled in Persia. The death-bed scene of Mirza Hassan Khan has never been surpassed by any previous writer. The action is laid in the time of Nasr-ed-Din, the last of the Shahs of any note. The volume is well printed, and the illustrations add much charm to the book.

MORGAN AND SCOTT, LIMITED; LONDON.

9. *Islam in China*, by MARSHALL BROOMHALL. This is rather an important and decidedly an interesting book, though there are signs here and there that it has been rushed through the press in a hurry, without adequate care having always been taken to verify facts and dates, or to bring the subject up to the time. At the present moment a number of travellers and residents in China—for instance, M. Paul Pelliot, Mr. Berthold Laufer, Mr. A. C. Moule of Hangchow, etc.—have either visited the Si-an

Fu mosques in person like the two first, or have possessed themselves of mosque rubbings like the last named. At any rate at least four persons were in possession of the Si-an Fu records which Mr. Broomhall imagines he presents to the public for the first time (apart from the fact that a translation of the most important one of all has already three years since appeared in this *Review*), whilst both Mr. Laufer and Mr. Moule have obtained important Hangchow mosque rubbings of which Mr. Broomhall has little or nothing to say, but which in a measure may be said to confirm the Si-an inscriptions.

The history of Islām in China may be shortly described as follows, and Mr. Broomhall, whilst giving us a valuable summary and putting forward valuable critical suggestions, really adds no definite new matter to the historical *data* already on record: In the eighth and ninth centuries the Chinese had extensive relations with the Arabs, then known by their Persian designation of Tâzî (Ta-shih); the Caliphs of Bagdad, including Haroun-al-Raschid, continued this intercourse, and mention is even made of Mohammed and the Kaaba (for a full account, see the chapter on Islām in *China and Religion*, John Murray, 1905). But from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200, China practically lost touch both with the Arabs and the Turks proper, and also with Tibet, the way being blocked by the Ouigour Kingdoms and by Tangut (Si-hia), with both of which Powers the Arabs had had direct relations, sometimes allied with, sometimes allied against, China. Meanwhile, during this same period 800-1200 the Kitans and Nüchêns (both more or less ancestors of the much later Manchus) had ruled in North China in turn: in 1124, after the (full Manchu) Nüchêns had definitely displaced the (half Manchu) Kitans at Peking, a Kitan prince tried to make his way to the Tâzî, with whom his imperial ancestors had in A.D. 1020-1 endeavoured to negotiate a marriage treaty: on his way he passed first through the chief Ouigour (*Hwei-hêh* or *Hwei-huh*) country just west of

China proper, and thence through Tartary to Samarcand, where the "King of the *Hwei-hwei*" reigned—apparently a Seldjuk Turk. Meanwhile the Karluck Turks (Satok Boghra Khan) of the Ili-Vernoe region had already, about A.D. 960, introduced Islām into Kashgar, and it is believed that shortly after that, some of the most westerly Ouigours—also Turks—had likewise become Moslems: at any rate, no other word for "Moslems" has since that ever been used in China except *Hwei-hwei*, and the above instance of 1124-1127 is also absolutely the first instance of its use that we at present know of; nor is there any explanation anywhere given of why it was so first used. The Mongols, about A.D. 1200, got rid of the Nüchêns at Peking, as the Nüchêns had, a century earlier, got rid of the Kitans, and during the century and a half of Mongol rule there, the words *Hwei-hwei* and *Hwei-hêh* or *Hwei-huh* are very loosely used, sometimes in the sense of "Ouigour," and sometimes in the sense of "Moslem," in such wise that several of Kublai Khan's most prominent Moslem statesmen and men of science or war are of doubtful nationality, be it Syrian, Persian, or Ouigour Turk. Accordingly the problem before students now is to account for this doubtful period, 800-1200; to find out exactly when and to what extent Islām gradually took a hold of the various Turki races, and through them of the (1) mixed and (2) pure Chinese Moslems; and also how far the pure Chinese Sung dynasty (which ruled in new or South China whilst these three Tartar houses just mentioned were gradually possessing themselves of the North or old China), was conscious of the fact that the Tâzî and the Mohammedan Bagdad Caliphs of A.D. 600-800 were religiously and politically connected with the *Hwei-hwei*, or Moslems, as they knew them between A.D. 960 and 1260. What we want above all other things is a number of mosque inscriptions dating from the Sung dynasty, and that is just what we have not got, and what Mr. Broomhall does not give us.

From the accession of the purely native Chinese Ming dynasty, in 1368, we have sufficient Ming and Manchu mosque inscriptions to prove to us that the *Hwei-hwei*, or Moslems, received religious protection from both dynasties, but towards the end of the Ming dynasty a number of Chinese Moslems began to write books, starting a quite new tradition about Mohammed's uncle having founded the chief mosque at Canton, and about the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 627 having also had overland relations by means of envoys with Mohammed himself. These "yarns" greatly puzzled K'ang-hi, the second Emperor, 200 years ago, of the Manchu dynasty, who totally failed to understand *why* the Moslems were called *Hwei-hwei*, or to find a single Moslem who could explain it to him. Thus Mr. Broomhall's excellent book reopens an historical question of the greatest political and religious interest, and sums up for us in readable form all the (1) Chinese historical evidence, (2) the Chinese "yarns," and (3) much of the critical work so far accomplished by Russian, French, and English authors in the direction of establishing a coherent account of it all. As a matter of fact, this *Review** has already published most of the trustworthy Chinese historical evidence, to which Mr. Broomhall adds little (beyond conjecture) of his own independent discovery. But Mr. Broomhall has a great deal of interesting new matter of his own to add touching the present state of Islām in China—the Moslem population in each province; the efforts of the German Emperor to establish a political influence through the Moslems of China; the attempts of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid to secure a politico-religious leverage in China; the "you scratch my back, and I'll scratch your back" understanding between Abdul Hamid and the Emperor William, etc. The matter is really big with interest and political potentiality; doubtless the comparatively crude, but at the same time true, highly meritorious pioneering of Mr. Broomhall will soon be improved upon.

* July, 1899; July, 1907; January, 1908.

when M. Pelliot, Mr. Laufer, M. Chavannes, Mr. A. C. Moule, and others buckle to seriously and fasten their keen intellects upon the fascinating task.—E. H. PARKER.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

10. *Behind the Scenes in Peking*, by MARY HOOKER. The authoress does not tell us who she was and is ; how she came to be among the heroines of the British Legation defence in 1900 ; if her name was Hooker also then, and if the charmingly dressed and eminently attractive photograph (p. 68) of Mrs. R. S. Hooker is the same person as the authoress, Mary Hooker. Putting one and two together, we are disposed to guess (1) that she is an American, strongly imbued with the notion that the United States is the "biggest country on earth," and that everything American is the biggest and best, too ; (2) that Mrs. R. S. Hooker and Mary Hooker are one and the same indivisible person ; (3) that there was no permanent Peking resident named Hooker in 1900 ; (4) that she was a traveller for pleasure, or possibly came up with the American Legation guards ; (5) that the photograph was taken in her wedding dress after her subsequent marriage to some lucky individual named Hooker, for in one place a foreign minister addresses her as "mademoiselle." However all this may be, the book is charmingly irresponsible and feminine ; in fact, its chief attraction to the present susceptible critic is the photograph on p. 68, which strongly reminds him of Mrs. Langtry as she appeared on the theatre boards thirty years ago, and at any rate represents a sonsie personage suggestive of mistletoe associations.

The scene opens at "Lingua Su," the famous pagoda temple (often inhabited by the present writer, but, after the authoress's departure from Peking, partly destroyed by the allies) more orthodoxly known to old Pekingites as *Ling-Kwang Sz* (or *Ssü*). Next we are introduced to the "beloved Inspector-General of the Customs," Sir Robert Hart, who is describing in horrific terms the "massacre

of the Portuguese at Ningpo in 1870," and recounting to the author his various "hair-breadth 'scapes in th' imminent deadly breach," and no doubt—if the guess about the photograph be correct—he, too, "loved her that she pitied him," notwithstanding that the Boxers were then on the war-path. The Ningpo date, by the way, is only 328 years wrong; but what are dates to a lady genius? In spite of the superiority of every thing and person American, at least one other British hero (besides Sir Robert) appears on the scene in the shape of the doughty Dr. Morrison—whose calm and handsome features, by the way, are well depicted on the cover of the latest London Magazine (January). He reappears a second time in our authoress's book on p. 69 as "dirty, happy, and healthy." Then we have that square, white Yank, the late Mr. Pethick, in 1900 already—his friends will be astonished to hear—"forty years a resident in China" (mere men are not so particular as ladies about their age), and the late "Archbishop" Favier, who will no doubt appreciate in "another place" this earthly accretion of rank, not to mention "Von Kettler," with only his two "*maffus*" to accompany him, riding on to his lamentable fate. Although the charming authoress was assigned the best available quarters in the British Legation, there is a good deal of altruistic grumbling on her part. The "beloved" Sir Robert Hart, for instance, "has one of the inferior houses; . . . but then, from time immemorial, the British Minister has never loved the Customs people's great power in having control of the huge revenues of China." We have, however, no British Tammany, and incidentally it may be mentioned that Sir R. Hart never controlled one penny of even China's Customs collection, not to speak of her "huge" revenues (contemptibly small for her size, apart from the foreign Customs). There are some rather shabby remarks about the brave Catholic missionaries on p. 57, especially considering that Bishop Favier's remarkable defence was one of the great military feats of the siege "Kieruff," doubtless, is our old acquaintance

Kierulff of 1869. Then there is Mrs. Coltman's "sweet baby asleep" (p. 61)—but enough; the photograph seems to explain all: the authoress is a beautiful woman, and all is forgiven her.—E. H. PARKER.

11. *Shans at Home*, by MRS. LESLIE MILNE. This finely illustrated book presents the whole life of a happy people: Going out specially to study the tribe called the Palaungs, Mrs. Milne remained about two years among the Shans, and this work is the pleasant result of her residence. She narrates the career and ceremonies the Shan undergoes and performs from birth to "the ferry," and writes about them with a facile sympathy. She tells us "their lives are very happy. Any man may marry the girl he loves if he can persuade her that she loves him better than any other man. There is always money enough, and food for the children that come to gladden their homes. Starving people do not exist, and there are few 'unemployed,' because any man or woman may easily earn a livelihood by asking for jungle land, by clearing and cultivating, and by selling the produce that is grown upon it." Add to this that their beautiful land is of varied altitudes and rich both botanically and in metals, that the British rule has stopped Burmese oppression; Kachin raids, and Chinese inroads, and one can well see why there is little discontent among the Shans. The Rev. Wilbur Willis Cochrane has added an historical account of the connection between the Shan States and China. It is mostly drawn, through the works of Sinologists, from Chinese sources, and, though worth reading, is a little bewildering, including as it does alliances with dragon princesses and tiger princes! The curious way the Chinese Empire has crept slowly south is interesting to observe and note.—A. F. S.

JAMES NISBET AND CO.; LONDON.

12. *Changing China*, by the REV. LORD WILLIAM GASCOYNE-CECIL, assisted by LADY FLORENCE CECIL. Although barely a year has elapsed since Lord William published his

book, it may already be described as almost obsolete political history, so rapid have the intermediate changes in China since been. Twanfang, who was so powerful as Viceroy at Nanking when the author had his famous interview with him upon the subject of religions in general, is now a disgraced official, having no legitimate influence whatever upon politics of any kind. The National Assembly may not yet have quite succeeded in browbeating the Emperor—*i.e.*, the Regent—into an incontinent grant, and establishment of full Parliamentary rights, but at any rate the germ of real Parliaments is rapidly incubating not only at Peking but also in the provinces, and mandarins, be they never so powerful, must in future take a comparatively back seat; it is rather an ominous sign, too—so far as Christianity is concerned—that the reforming Assembly, so decided in its tone about opium, financial honesty, gambling, loyalty to the Emperor's person at least, responsibility to the people of Cabinets, Viceroys, etc., had no single word to utter from first to last about missionaries or foreign religion—nothing either for or against; in short, the question was totally ignored. The true explanation probably is that what Lord William calls the "false and repellent view of Christianity put before China by Germany's action in Shan Tung" has left a nasty twitch in every patriotic Chinese heart, and has undoubtedly put the Christian clock back so far as the thinking classes of China are concerned; but, notwithstanding this set-back, he is probably right when he says that "Western civilization may be expected to grow with equal rapidity in China as (*sic*) it has in Japan"—a sane judgment if expressed in rather lame English. By the way, the author talks in this (the first) chapter of Nestorian Christian missions to Tibet and China in the seventh century. So far as Tibet is concerned, this is a complete mistake: there were no such early missions.

No one can be expected to take very accurate views of Chinese social life and general policy after a few months' rapid scouring of the country, but Lord William seems to

have at least made the very best of his scant opportunities, and he favours us with some very sensible remarks of a decidedly non-clerical nature. For instance, "The integrity of China can best be maintained by an increase of China's military power"; "it is obviously far more simple to bring the factories to China than to bring the Chinaman to the factories"; "only the smaller part of a man's life is controlled by law, the greater part is controlled by custom enforced by the sanction of public opinion." He even has hopes that China, taught by Christianity, may in years to come, react beneficially on the Western World; but, unfortunately, "China is trying to accept Western civilization, and there is a danger that it will be without Christianity." The immediate object of his two visits to China was, as all the world knows, to see what could be done towards equipping a central Chinese University at Hankow, or some such suitable place, based on Christian principles. Some persons have expressed regret that this enterprise should appear to clash with, and overlap, the efforts earlier made—and, it may be added, better supported so far—to create a non-sectarian Anglo-Chinese University at Hong Kong. However, there is room for both, and for half a dozen more universities, be they Moslem, Christian, Buddhist, Confucian, or Agnostic, notwithstanding Lord William's sweepingly pessimistic view that "the Westernized Oriental, unless a Christian, is, as a rule, only one shade better than the Orientalized Western" (the Sinologue).

But readers interested in the leavening of China must read the book for themselves. The author expresses his views tactfully and courteously. His style is not declamatory, but carefully thought out, and expressed with moderation and impartiality. His two visits took place in 1907 and 1909, and he was astonished to find ocular demonstration of what had been accomplished in the short interval between the two dates. He would be still more astounded were he to venture out a third time and contemplate the upheaval that has again taken place in the last four years.

It is to be hoped he will go again and persevere. Not being a "China hand," his views lose nothing by being expressed with a freshness and frankness not usually met with in the writings of a didactic "twenty years in the country and know the language" man.—E. H. PARKER.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

13. *Gleanings from Fifty Years in China*, by the late ARCHIBALD LITTLE. Revised by Mrs. Archibald Little. Mrs. Archibald Little will, as everyone is aware, be chiefly known to posterity in connection with the small feet of Chinese females, whilst her distinguished husband's chief claim to perennial renown will be in its turn inseparable from the great feat of opening up the Yangtsze Rapids to steamer navigation. This pioneer service is described at length in the first chapter of the present interesting collection (mostly reprints), which seems to have been partly rewritten, or, at least, "brought up" to date, within a short time of the popular author's death.

It is curious to read therein, in view of the gigantic strides made by China in railway matters during the past five years, that "few now living are likely to see railways permeating and developing this grand region of the earth's surface." There are some other thoughtful remarks in the same chapter, such as "Aniline dyes are fast ruining Oriental art"; "the Chinaman's wants are fewer [than ours], and he leads a more contented life"; "there is a leaven at work in our presence in China which will in time leaven the mass"; "like Turkey, they may rub on as they are on sufferance, owing to the mutual jealousy of their enemies." There is also an excellent photograph of the late powerful "opportunist," the Viceroy Chang Chi-tung.

But, indeed, the chapters or articles range over any date between the extremes of 1861 and 1902, so that, as may be imagined, we find the author in varied moods, and even at times seemingly inconsistent with himself; but perhaps this

is only the mellowing process of evolution his sensitive and active mind was gradually undergoing. Although he is severely critical in matters of commerce, and utters the usual jeremiads against the callosity of the British Government, Ministers, and Consuls, as also against the thick-headed conservatism and blindness of British traders, it does not appear that he was ever a successful trader himself in any line; his bent was "pioneering," whether in travel, study of language and people, railways, or river-steamers; he was a man of ideas, and perhaps a bit of a rolling stone, around which lucrative moss had not always an exactly irresistible tendency to cling. The wisest and most successful thing he probably ever did in the way of pioneering was to marry the courageous and ever active Mrs. Little, and to take her along with him to share his hopes and his excitements in the wild regions over which he loved to roam. Here at least Corydon was within daily reach of an eatable dinner dressed by—or under the severe superintendance of—a neat-handed Phyllis of his own after his day's explorations. By himself he would probably have dined off a scraggy boiled Chinese chicken and insipid rice, served up on the soft side of an empty beer-barrel or a whisky-box, for he was an eminently unselfish man of Bohemian or Micawberian tendencies, savouring at times of the Dominie Sampson way of looking after himself, or say, neglecting number one!

The preface to the present book is written by his old friend Mr. R. S. Gundry, C.B., who, apart from his Shanghai editorial work, has long been favourably and well known in England through his connection with the China Association, an organization of many activities (and succulent annual dinners) chronically engaged in poking up the somnolent Foreign Office, the otiose British Minister at Peking, the obstinate Governor of Hong Kong, and the divers other (alleged) inert bodies slow to hark to the "power behind the throne," and whose individual and collective helplessness was always one of the late Mr.

Little's pet themes—as indeed it still is that of every good Shanghai-ite. It need hardly be said, therefore, that Mr. Gundry is sympathetic, and indeed Mr. Archibald Little deserved sympathy, for he was of eminently kind and friendly disposition, and a very interesting travelling companion, if a trifle dreamy.

The book is cheap at 7s. 6d., and is, moreover, light to handle, and well supplied with excellent pictures. A map to illustrate the author's various routes would not have come amiss. There are a few misprints. Thus: p. 6 "O'Connor" for "O'Conor"; p. 25 "*Shizzen*" for "*Skizzen*"; (perhaps intentional) p. 171 "*monumenta*" for "*monumentum*"; p. 314 "*Jingko*" for "*Ginkō*" (pronounced hard, like begin).—E. H. PARKER.

PAUL GEUTHNER; PARIS.

14. *De L'Etat Présent et de L'Avenir de L'Islam*, by PROFESSOR E. MONTET. These are six lectures published under the above title, and delivered by the learned author at the Collège de France in 1910. First Lecture: Interest of Islamic Questions; Statistics of Islam; Propagation of the Muhammadan Religion. Second Lecture: Mussulman Orthodoxy; Its Deformation; Schisms, Heresies and Sects. Third Lecture: The Worship of Mussulman Saints. Fourth Lecture: The Religious Mussulman Brotherhoods; Their Mysticism and their Formalism; Their Social and Political Action. Fifth Lecture: Attempts at Reform of Islam; Babism and Behaism. Sixth Lecture: Concerning the Future of the Mussulman People; The Liberal Tendencies and the Efforts towards Emancipation in Islam; Conclusion.

We need not say that these lectures, by such an authority on the subject are of the greatest interest, which all students of history and of religion should not fail to peruse.

CHARLES TAYLOR; BROOKE HOUSE, WARWICK LANE,
LONDON.

15. *The Giants of the Earth*, by CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S., with a Preface by the REV. ARTHUR CHAMBERS. This very attractive little volume is, as the writer of the preface rightly says, "very calculated to set the thoughtful reader thinking." The authoress calls it a "Rhapsody in five visions." The visions are : The Gold God. The Iron King. The Monarchs of the Forest : Spirit and Nature. The Goddess of the Sea : the Angel of the Waters, and Fire, the Refiner. These allegories, elegant in style and very thoughtful in expression, leave on the mind a strange impression of vividness and of extraordinary charm. The spirit and the essence, underlying the whole, suggest so many interesting questions, that it is certain of a hearty welcome, and we commend it to all intelligent classes throughout the world.

DIGBY, LONG AND CO., LTD.; BOUVERIE STREET, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

16. *The Kestrel*, by REGINALD E. SALWEY, author of "A Son of Mischief," etc. This volume maintains the high standard of its predecessors, and adds to the author's long list of successes. The scene of the story is laid on the south-east coast of England—St. Simon's-at-Cliffe. The descriptions of life, scenery, the people, the coming and passing of the seasons are all very attractive, whilst the dialogues are so natural and the tragic situations ring so true that they arouse the sympathy of the reader and hold his attention throughout. These few lines give but a faint glimpse of the book.

LONDON; G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.

17. *The Mistress of Shenstone*, by FLORENCE L. BARCLAY. In this volume the author gives us a novel, the plot of which is woven in a subtle way around a self-styled

murderer and a lady, the unhappy wife, and afterwards widow of a studious man. The story takes us to a little frontier war, and back again to England to picturesque Devonshire. The author so beautifully unfurls her story, that we feel almost in the midst of the scenes depicted by her. There is much charm in the way the author reveals, through the characters of this work, the good, kind-hearted, and godly nature of good-living mortals, which leaves a strong impression on the reader.—G. L.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Moslem World. The Christian Literature Society for India, 35, John Street, Bedford Row, London, has published (on behalf of the Nile Mission Press) the first numbers of a quarterly entitled *The Moslem World*, edited by Dr. S. M. ZWEMER, assisted by other well-known Oriental scholars. *The Moslem World* is a review of current thought among Muhammadans, and a record of religious and social movements in Islam; and the promoters believe that it will meet a much felt need. It will be published in America by the Fleming H. Revell Company, and in Berlin by the Martin Warneck Company.

The Enchanted Parrot, being a Selection from the "Suka Saptati"; or, The Seventy Tales of a Parrot, translated from the Sanskrit text by the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, B.A. (London: Luzac and Co.). An interesting and characteristic Eastern story.

Kalidasa Meghaduta: The Cloud Messenger, by PURSHOTAM VISHRAM MAWJEE, J.P., M.R.A.S., illustrated by M. V. DHURANDHAR (The Lakshmi Art Printing Works, Dadar, Bombay). Kalidasa is considered the great Sanskrit poet of India and called by Western scholars the Shakespeare of India. He flourished at the Court of the King of Ujjain, was a devoted worshipper of Shiva and Paravati, and a great observer and ardent lover of Nature.

The story is purely Eastern, and is well illustrated according to native art.

The Story of Nefrekepta, from a Demotic Papyrus. Put into verse by GILBERT MURRAY (Oxford : At the Clarendon Press). The original of this tale is in Demotic Egyptian, and was translated into English by Dr. Griffiths. Mr. Murray has made the story more vivid by transposing it into verse.

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations (Arabic and Persian)*, by Claud Field, M.A. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited);—*The New Spirit in Egypt*, by H. Hamilton Fyfe (Edinburgh and London; W. Blackwood and Sons);—*Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots*, by Sir Andrew H. L. Fraser;—*Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, by Edwin H. Gomes, M.A. (London: Seeley and Co., Limited);—*Through Persia in Disguise*, by Colonel Charles E. Stewart (London : George Routledge and Sons, Limited);—*The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, edited, with an introduction, by Elizabeth Bisland;—*Across the Roof of the World*, by Lieutenant P. T. Etherton (London: Constable and Co., Limited);—*Saito Musashi-Bō Benkei (Tales of the Wars of the Gempei)*, by James S. de Benneville (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited);—*Compendium of Philosophy*: being a translation from the original Pali of the Abhidhammattha-Sangaha, with an introductory essay and notes, by Shwe Zan Aung, B.A. (London : published for the Pali Society by Henry Frowde);—*The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*, in three volumes (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—In connection with the King's visit to India in December of this year, great preparations are being made for his reception. Five divisions of infantry and two of cavalry, with a quota of Imperial Service troops, will mobilize for the Delhi Coronation Durbar. This will give a military parade of between 80,000 and 90,000 men.

Lord Hardinge presided over his first Legislative Council on January 3 at Calcutta, when he said he felt deeply both the honour and the onus of presiding over a reformed Council, which was largely due to the wisdom of Lord Minto.

Mr. Robertson, the Commercial Secretary, announced in the Viceroy's Council on January 3 that the Government, as empowered by an Act passed last year, had decided to prohibit from July 1 next the emigration of indentured Indians to Natal, owing to the friction between Indians and colonists, and the absence of any guarantee that Indians would be treated as permanent citizens at the close of their indentures.

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, the Finance Minister, presented his Budget for year ending with February, 1911, at the Viceroy's Council on March 1. It showed the gross revenue of India for the first time on record to exceed £80,000,000, in which are included the transactions of provincial governments, but not those of district boards and other local bodies. This leaves a surplus of £3,489,300. It is

derived in part from increased receipts from railways, and from Customs due mainly to the heavy imports of silver.

The Finance Minister proposed a reduction of the tobacco import duty by one-third in order to remove the hardships of the country industry, which was largely dependent on imported leaf. In regard to the opium question, he said that he could not consent that India should, for the cause of China's reforms, suffer losses bringing no corresponding benefit. Our legitimate interests would be safeguarded so long as our trade exists. A prominent feature next year would be the fixing of permanent financial settlements on the eight major provinces. Any province overdrawing in future would pay interest on the loan. The operations in connection with the Persian Gulf arms traffic cost £250,000.

At the sitting of the Legislative Council on March 9 a resolution for the abolition of the cotton Excise duty was negatived by thirty-two votes to twenty. All the native representatives voted for the resolution.

A motion to appoint a committee of inquiry on the subject of a tax on imported sugar was likewise defeated.

Of the thirty-five persons charged in the Nassik Conspiracy cases eight were acquitted by the special tribunal of the Bombay High Court, while the remainder were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from transportation for life to six months' imprisonment. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the most notorious of all the prisoners, received, as ringleader of the gang of conspirators, the sentence of transportation for life and the forfeiture of his property.

The Bombay Presidency has been exempted from the operation of Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act.

The construction of a railway has been sanctioned, on the metre gauge, from Singhjani, on the Dacca section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, to Bahadurabad, on the Brahmaputra River, opposite Fulchari station, with the two short ghat lengths of line at Fulchari, a total distance

of over twenty-seven miles, as an integral part of the Eastern Bengal State Railway.

The census of India was successfully taken on the night of March 10. The country was divided into 2,000,000 blocks, with plans showing railways, roads, and rivers. The Shan States, Sikkim, and the Andaman Islands were included in the return.

The twenty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress opened its sittings on December 26 last at Allahabad. There was a very large attendance of delegates to the number of 800, and over 400 visitors. Sir William Wedderburn was appointed President of the Congress.

The President's address dealt with the hopes entertained by the Indian people of conciliation between the different races, the need for cultivating a spirit of mutual toleration, and the desirableness of avoiding the use of language likely to give rise to suspicion. Resolutions were passed expressing profound grief at the untimely death of King Edward, and offering the humble homage and duty of the Congress to King George, assuring His Majesty of its profound loyalty and heartfelt joy at his proposed visit, and extending a welcome to Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, the new Viceroy, and assuring him of the desire of the Congress loyally to co-operate with the Government. The President announced that the Viceroy had agreed to receive a deputation and address from the Congress. Great admiration was expressed at the struggle carried on by the Indians in the Transvaal. The Government of India were urged to prohibit the recruitment of indentured Indian labourers, and a protest was made against the present policy as being unwise, unrighteous, and dangerous to the Empire. Other resolutions called upon Indians to support the Swadeshi movement and the purchase of Indian products, even at a sacrifice. The speedy separation of executive from judicial functions was also urged, and the immediate establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and the Punjab was recommended.

On the second day's sittings a resolution was adopted, as amended in Committee, on the subject of separate electorates for Muhammadans and Hindus. The amended resolution, as it now stands, while disapproving of the separate electorate system in general, recognizes the necessity of providing fair representation for Muhammadan and other minorities. At the closing sittings resolutions were passed in favour of holding the entrance examinations for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and in England, and of making Indians eligible for the higher appointments in the police. An appeal was made for funds to carry on the propaganda in Great Britain, and 40,000 rupees were subscribed at the meeting towards the sum of 60,000 rupees asked for. The next Congress will be held in Calcutta.

The Indian Army will be represented at the Coronation in London by selected Indian officers from each regiment of Cavalry, group of Mountain Batteries, corps of Sappers and Miners, and battalion of Infantry. A special representation, in addition, will be allowed to the King's regiments. The Imperial Service Troops will be represented by an Indian officer from each State which contains such troops.

The King has conferred the Imperial Order of the Crown of India upon Lady Hardinge of Penshurst.

Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, K.C.S.I., succeeds Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., as Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., who will maintain his office until the end of the summer.

Mr. N. R. Chatterji has been confirmed as a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, in place of Mr. Justice Das, resigned.

Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Judge of the High Court of Madras, has been appointed a member of the Executive

Council of the Governor of Madras, in succession to the Maharaja of Bobbili ; and Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar succeeds as Judge of the High Court of Madras.

Mr. W. B. Gordon, of the Punjab Irrigation Department, succeeds Sir Lionel Jacob as Secretary of the Public Works Department, India.

Mr. H. G. Richards, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Allahabad, has been appointed Chief Justice of that Court in succession to Sir John Stanley, and Mr. E. M. Des Champs Chamier, Judicial Commissioner in Oudh, succeeds as Puisne Judge in the place of Mr. Richards.

On the occasion of New Year's Day, 1911, the following appointments, among others, were made by the King :

STAR OF INDIA.

G.C.S.I.—Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I., Member of the Council of India.

K.C.S.I.—John Ontario Miller, Esq., C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, lately an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India; Lionel Montague Jacob, Esq., C.S.I., M.I.C.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India for making Laws and Regulations; Murray Hammick, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor at Fort St. George.

C.S.I.—Colonel (temporary Major-General) Reginald Henry Mahon, C.B., Director-General of Ordnance in India; Michael William Fenton, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for making Laws and Regulations; Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fleetwood Pinhey, C.I.E.,

Indian Army, lately Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor-General of India ; Captain Allen Thomas Hunt, Royal Navy, in command of H.M.S. *Fox*; Henry Walter Badock, Esq., Accountant-General, India Office ; James Mollison, Esq., Inspector-General of Agriculture with the Government of India ; Pirajirao Bapu Saheb Ghatge, c.i.e., Chief of Kagal (Senior Branch), Kolhapore.

ORDER OF INDIAN EMPIRE.

K.C.I.E.—Rear-Admiral Edmond John Warre Slade, M.V.O., Royal Navy, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies ; John Benton, Esq., c.i.e., F.C.H., M.I.C.E., Inspector-General of Irrigation with the Government of India.

C.I.E.—John Barry Wood, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department ; Lieutenant-Colonel George Grant Gordon, v.d., Commandant, Northern Bengal Mounted Rifles, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for making Laws and Regulations ; Colonel Ralph Champneys Broome, Indian Army, Director-General, Army Remount Department ; Colonel Frank Goodwin, v.d., Locomotive Superintendent, Rajpootana-Malwa Railway, and Commandant, 2nd Battalion Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Volunteer Rifles ; Lieutenant-Colonel George Frederick Chenevix-Trench, Indian Army, Political Agent in Zhob ; Archibald Young Gipps Campbell, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras ; Andrew Bigoe Barnard, Esq., Bengal Police Department, Deputy Director Criminal Intelligence ; James Adolphus Guider, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Bombay ; John Paul Warburton, Esq., Punjab Police Department (retired), lately Inspector-General of Police, Patiala State ; James William Douglas Johnstone, Esq., Director-General of Education, Gwalior State ; Fakir Sayad Iftakhar-ud-din, Punjab Provincial Service, and sometime British Agent at Kabul.

SALUTES.

The King has been graciously pleased to approve the following increases of salutes : His Highness Raja Sri Sir Rama Varma, C.C.S.I., of Cochin, from seventeen to nineteen guns, as a personal distinction ; Sultan Sir Ahmad Fadhl of Lahej, K.C.S.I., from nine to eleven guns, as a personal distinction.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Aga Khan has advocated the commemoration of the expected visit of the King to India by the foundation of a Moslem University at Aligarh comparable to those of Berlin, Paris, and Oxford, and has promised to contribute a lakh of rupees (£6,666). At the Education Conference at Nagpore this proposition was brought forward and an appeal made for funds. Three thousand rupees were collected on the spot, and promises of good sums were made by a number of distinguished Moslems from various provinces.

The Maharajah of Gwalior has lent a company of Sappers and Miners and also a Transport Corps to assist in the works at Delhi in connection with the Coronation. He has also offered two fountains for erection in the King's camp, and several motors. The Raja of Keri has offered the services of his Sappers and Miners.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Roos-Keppel, Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier, whilst in camp at Charsadda on February 28, received news that a band of thirty raiders, under the notorious outlaw Hakim Khan, was hiding in a cave near Abazai. He at once proceeded with his escort of 200 men and surrounded the raiders. The next day, as the outlaws refused to yield, they were fired upon. Hakim Bey and twenty-two of his followers were killed and seven were captured. The troops suffered no casualties, but a villager was wounded. Hakim Khan was the leader of a gang which has long been a terror to the Abazai border. The destruction of the band will have a widespread effect on the frontier.

News received from the frontier shows that the Nawab of Dir has succeeded in fully imposing his authority on the tribesmen of the Upper Swat. They have for some time been trying to assert their independence, and last autumn they refused to pay revenue. In November last a strong force from Dir entered the country, and the tribesmen fled to the hills, and the slight opposition given was overcome. A number of villages were burned, and the Upper Valley was deserted in consequence. Attempts were made by the Khans subordinate to Dir in the direction of Afghan territory to bring forces and attack the outlying districts of the Nawab's territory, but they failed. The result is that the Nawab has conquered the whole of the Upper Swat, where he is building forts to make his position secure. The fighting has ceased, and the tribesmen are returning to their villages.

In the Lower Swat Valley the people have become so prosperous since they have been under British political control that the old spirit of fanatical resistance to all intruders has died out. Trade has expanded both with India and Bajour, and the tribesmen see that the new canal through the Malakhand, now in course of construction, will contribute further to their prosperity. With the Nawab of Dir, a subsidized chief, dominating the Upper Swat, there is further guarantee that the peace of the whole valley will be maintained.

BURMA.—In regard to a long-standing dispute between Great Britain and China as to the line of demarcation between Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan, some 220 miles not having been properly delimited, trouble was caused there recently by some outlaws. A British force was despatched to the region. This caused a perturbation in Peking, but ultimately arrangements were made for the delimitation of the frontier.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—Mr. Frederick Belfield, Attorney-General, has been appointed to be a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of the Straits Settlements, and Mr. Thomas

de Multon Lee Braddell, Puisne Judge, is to be Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements.

PERSIA.—The Persian Government sent a note on December 28 last in reply to Great Britain. It denied Great Britain's contention that the raising of the question of the presence of Russian troops in Persia was irrelevant to the issue. The note then enumerated the following measures taken with a view to the restoration of order. The first was the appointment of a competent Governor-General of Fars. Secondly, the policing of the Bushire-Shiraz road via Kazerun, which was trusted to Sowlet-ed-Dowleh, who organized a patrol of 380 men. Thirdly, a force composed of mounted and unmounted men was dispatched from Teheran to Ispahan. These were further strengthened by three regiments joining them from elsewhere. Fourthly, a considerable portion of the proceeds of the projected loan will be set aside for the consolidation of security, and will be expended in accordance with a programme which is being elaborated. Fifthly, besides the appointment of the European military officers in the service of the Persian Government, a number of competent men will be employed from abroad for the prompt organization of an efficient *gendarmerie*. The note also stated that the Government was preparing a scheme for the proper expenditure of money derived from the loan, which the Persian Government trust will induce the British Government to allow a surtax of 10 per cent. on the southern import duties.

The Regent has taken the oath of office on his return from Europe. Before doing so he delivered an address to the Mejliss, in which he dwelt on the necessity of making his office a non-party position. He pleaded for a cessation of political enmities, and threatened that in the contrary event he "would not be content to occupy his post as an idle spectator of disasters."

On account of the greater tranquillity of the country the Russian Government has withdrawn the troops sent to Kazvin two years ago.

Sani-ed-Dowleh, the Minister of Finance in the last Cabinet, was assassinated in Teheran by Georgians on February 6, apparently as an act of private vengeance. Two of the assassins were captured by the police, but the others escaped.

The old Ministry having resigned, a new Cabinet was introduced to the Mejlass by the Sipadar, who becomes Premier and Minister of War.

PERSIAN GULF.—Towards the end of December His Majesty's ship *Hyacinth* landed a party of bluejackets to search for arms, with the co-operation of the local sheikh. The party were fired on, and one was killed and one wounded, who afterwards died. According to a Consular Report on the trade of Muscat, the capital and principal port of the Sultanate of Oman, there has been a considerable decrease in the trade in arms at that place during the year 1909-10. This is mainly attributed to the measures taken by the British and Persian Governments and the sheikhs on the littoral of the Persian Gulf. The gun-running is mostly connected with the export of arms to and from the French colony of Jibuti, on the Red Sea. This traffic is carried on from Jibuti to Muscat under cover of the treaty declarations of 1862. It was thought that at the Brussel's Conference, held in January, 1910, the zone of prohibition for the traffic in arms, which extends from the twenty-second degree of latitude south over the whole of the African Continent, as well as the adjoining islands and waters within twenty miles of the mainland, would have been enlarged, but as Great Britain and France had not been able to come to some previous understanding with regard to the extension of the prohibition to Asia, no such proposal was discussed. Two obstacles stand in the way of a settlement—first, the interests of the French traders engaged in the traffic, and, secondly, the local commercial interests of the French port of Jibuti.

Advices received from the Persian Gulf prove that the preventive measures taken against gun-running are so com-

plete that only small batches of rifles can be landed on the Persian coast at a time, and these only at rare intervals.

EGYPT.—Lord Kitchener presented new colours to the 1st Battalion of the Welsh Regiment at Alexandria on December 13, 1910. Sir J. G. Maxwell, K.C.B., Commanding the Army of Occupation, Egypt, was present. These colours take the place of those presented by Major-General J. G. Goodwyn, C.B., at Sheffield in 1862.

Sir Eldon Gorst, the British Agent and Consul-General, has made a tour of inspection in Upper Egypt. The impression he obtained was very satisfactory. He visited the provinces where the Copts are chiefly settled, and thoroughly investigated the question of the alleged Coptic grievances, but found that outside Cairo there was no serious complaint. Moslems and Copts, he says, generally live quietly together if they are left alone, and the worst possible service to the Copts would be to treat them as a separate community. Sir Eldon Gorst found that the Copts' educational interests everywhere received due consideration from the Provincial Councils.

Despite the admonitions of the patriarch, the Copts held a Congress at Assiut on March 6. The object of the Congress was "to remove numerous causes of disagreement between the communities constituting the Egyptian nation by establishing the principle of justice and parity of treatment as regards these communities in all their rights and duties as citizens."

Various resolutions were discussed, the most important of which was that the Copts should have a fair share of the educational facilities provided by the Provincial Councils from the proceeds of the 5 per cent. land tax, and that in making Government appointments the ability of the candidate should alone be considered, without regard to his religion, or to the numerical strength of his community.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, where there is a large garrison of Turkish soldiers, has been invested during the quarter by the Imam Yahya's troops.

Several attacks on the town were successfully repelled. The revolt spread to many parts of the province, the situation becoming very grave. Armed bands occupied several posts on the south-eastern frontier, and the levies of the Imam Yahya seized the heights south of Menakha, in order to intercept the Turkish advances on Sanaa. The insurgents made an attack on Menakha on February 18, and were repulsed, the Arabs losing 350 killed. The town was held in siege until February 26, when six battalions, under Colonel Riza Bey, entered, and thus relieved the town. The garrison of Sanaa made a successful sortie on February 18. On going to press, we hear of sharp fighting taking place fifteen miles from Sanaa between troops of friendlies and an inferior force of the Imam's men.

CHINA.—Li-yu-lin, the new Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James, arrived in London in December last. He was met by the retiring Minister, Lord Li Ching-fong, who left for China in January.

JAPAN.—A conspiracy to assassinate the Emperor of Japan was discovered, and as a consequence many arrests were made of anarchists concerned in the conspiracy, who were all brought up for trial. Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and twenty-three others were sentenced to death for having conspired against the life of the Emperor and other members of the Imperial family. Two were sent to prison for eight and eleven years. The death sentence on twelve of the anarchists was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. These did not include Dr. Kotoku or his wife.

The Emperor has given £150,000 for the relief of the poor, who are unable to obtain adequate medical treatment.

The Japanese Diet opened at Tokyo on December 23, 1910, and in the absence of the Emperor, who was indisposed, the Marquis Katsura, the Prime Minister, read the Speech from the Throne, which emphasized the necessity for the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

The Prime Minister at a meeting of the Diet held on January 21, in his opening speech, said that Japan's rela-

tions with the Powers were cordial. The British Alliance was gaining in strength with age. He expected to complete new treaties with all the Powers without difficulty. The present financial policy would be maintained, and the expenditure in armaments would be absolutely restricted to necessities. He afterwards introduced the Budget in the Lower House of the Diet. The ordinary receipts, he said, amounted to 492,000,000 yen (£49,200,000), and the extraordinary receipts to 59,000,000 yen, while the ordinary expenditure amounted to 407,000,000 yen, and the extraordinary expenditure to 144,000,000 yen. The supplementary naval expenditure for the year amounted to 14,000,000 yen. During the next six years 274,000,000 yen would be distributed on railway improvements.

During the year 1910 the value of exports from Japan amounted to £45,666,666, and the value of imports to £46,500,000. These figures show an increase of £11,000,000 as compared with 1908.

SIAM.—A Red Cross Hospital is to be built at Bangkok as a memorial to the late King Chulalongkorn, whose children have subscribed over 100,000 ticals (£778).

TRANSVAAL.—General Piet Cronje, the Boer general, who took a prominent part in the opening operations in the South African war, and who surrendered to Lord Roberts at Paardeberg, died at Klerksdorf on February 4.

SOMALILAND.—In December last the Mullah attacked the Warsanglis on the Warsangli coast and killed many of the tribe, and captured 14,000 sheep and camels. The Sultan of the Warsanglis appealed to the Sultan of the Mijertain tribe to join him in an attack on the Mullah. The Mullah followed this attack by an attack on Berbera.

RHODESIA.—The British South Africa Company has decided to despatch a Commission to Rhodesia to inquire into the cause of sleeping sickness in the Loangwe Valley. The Commission will be under Dr. May, principal medical officer of the Northern Division, who will be assisted by a number of bacteriologists and other specialists.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.—Sir William Wallace, the Resident-General, has retired after thirty years' service in Northern Nigeria. Sir Hesketh Bell, the Governor, paid a high tribute to him in announcing the fact in the *Official Gazette*.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—On January 1 of this year the Commonwealth attained manhood individuality by—(1) The formal acquisition of its own capital site and territory ; (2) The attainment of direct control over the Northern Territory ; (3) Financial independence owing to the expiration of the Braddon Clause of the Constitution ; (4) The assumption of responsibility for self-defence by the commencement of active operations for compulsory training under the Defence Act.

The prospects of internal development by immigration, closer settlement, and railway decentralization, are brighter than they have been at any previous period of Federal existence.

Mr. Fisher, the Commonwealth Prime Minister, Mr. Pearce, Minister of Defence, and Mr. Batchelor, Minister of External Affairs, will represent the Australian Commonwealth at the Imperial Conference to meet in London on May 22.

The Right Hon. Lord Denman, K.C.V.O., has been appointed to succeed the Right Hon. the Earl of Dudley, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth of Australia.

VICTORIA.—Sir John Fuller, Bart., M.P., has been appointed Governor of Victoria in succession to Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, Bart., K.C.M.G., who has been appointed Governor of Madras.

The Victorian trade statistics for 1910 show that the value of the imports was £19,678,000, being an increase of £3,146,000 over 1909. The exports amounted in value to £17,744,000, being an increase of £662,000 over the preceding year.

CANADA.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught

has been appointed to succeed Lord Grey as Governor-General of Canada. This appointment has been generally welcomed both at home and in Canada.

The announcement is made that on completion of the Hudson Bay Railway the Government will control, by means of a commission, the rates, not only of the railway, but of the steamship companies connecting with it, and handling the through traffic to and from the Prairie Provinces. The Government is also contemplating the provision of the necessary elevator and terminal facilities at Liverpool, or some other English port, for the grain shipped by the Hudson Bay route. The railway itself will be built by the Government, but the question of its operation will be left in abeyance until the construction is well under way.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Newfoundland Legislature was opened on February 8. The Governor, in his speech, after deplored the death of King Edward, welcomed the accession of King George. He announced that a hospital for nurses was being built as a memorial to the late King. He went on to say that the trade of the Colony, its revenue, and the surplus for the fiscal year, ended June 30 last, were each the largest in the history of the Colony.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

General Sir John Luther Vaughan, G.C.B., Indian Army ;—Major-General A. B. Beatson, late of the Bengal Staff Corps ;—Colonel F. Howard, M.D. (Afghan war 1878, Egyptian expedition 1882, South Africa) ;—Captain E. G. Bromhead, 2nd King Edward's Goorkhas (Chin' Hills, Burma 1895-6) ;—William George Probyn, late Bengal Civil Service ;—Charles Joseph Anderson, Indian Mutiny veteran ;—General Sir James F. M. Browne, Colonel of the Royal Engineers (Crimea) ;—General Sir Edward Earle Gascoigne Bulwar (Crimea, Indian Mutiny) ;—Colonel J. R. P. Gordon (Afghan war, 1880, South African war 1881, Bechuanaland expedition 1884, Burmese expedition 1887, expedition against the Jebus, Lagos 1892, Ashantee expedition 1895, South Africa 1900-01) ;—Major H. C. O. Murray, 2nd Batt. Royal Highlanders (the Black Watch) ;—Surgeon-General John Meane (Crimea, Afghan war 1878-80) ;—Brigadier-General

A. F. Hogge, c.b., commanding the Ferozepore Brigade (Mahsud-Waziri expedition 1881, Hazara 1888, Chitral 1895, Tirah 1897-98, China 1900, Waziristan 1901-02, and the Tibetan expedition 1904);—Major M. W. Brock (Afghan war 1879);—Captain H. C. Willes (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel J. H. Graham (North-West Frontier, India, 1853);—Captain J. R. Broun, 53rd Sikhs, India Army (Tirah campaign 1897, North-West Frontier 1901, Waziristan 1902, and expedition against the Darweesh Khel Waziris 1908);—Major-General Charles Sheppye Sturt, late of the Bombay Infantry (Burmese expedition 1886);—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Wharton Boger (South African war 1899-1900);—Captain J. M. McLaren (Tirah expedition, South Africa 1899-1902);—Robert Mackenzie Smeaton, l.l.d., late Bengal Civil Service;—Major-General Blair Thomas Reid, late Bengal Staff Corps (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mooltan); Major-General George Murray Miller, c.b. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel S. S. Boulderson, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Arthur Travers Crawford, c.m.g., late Bombay Civil Service;—General David Brown, late Indian Army (Burmese war 1852-53);—Colonel George Strahan, late Royal (Bengal) Engineers;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Cunningham, Indian Medical Service;—John Hancock, late of the South Indian Railway Company;—Viscount Chetwynd, served in 14th Light Dragoons, and was present at the battles of Chillianwallah, Goojerat, and Ramnager;—Lieutenant-General John Pringle Sheriff, c.b. (Indian Mutiny, Looshai, Duffla, Naga Hills expedition);—Captain Thomas B. Heathorn (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major C. R. Hoskyn, of the Bombay-Baroda and Central India Railway;—His Highness Sir Rasul Khanji Mahabat Khanji, Nawab of the Kathiawar State of Junagarh;—Colonel A. B. Cumberlege, late I.S.C. and Commissioner of Chuttesgurh Division, Central Provinces;—General W. D'Oyly Kerrich, Colonel-Commandant of the Royal (late Madras Artillery);—Colonel Alfred George Plomer, late Bombay Staff Corps (Persian expeditionary force 1856, Mutiny); Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. F. Street, Indian Medical Service (Afghan war 1878, Burmese expedition 1886); Charles Hallyburton Campbell, j.p., late Indian Civil Service;—Major W. J. B. Allen, Royal Field Artillery (West African Force 1901-05);—Captain R. F. Knight, Indian Subordinate Medical Service (Indian Mutiny);—Captain Pullen, I.M.S.;—Colonel John Liston, Bengal Staff Corps;—Dr. E. D. Silver, late Indian Medical Service;—General Hubert Le Cocq, Colonel-Commandant of the Royal (Bombay) Artillery (Persian war 1856, Kurrachee 1857, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Arthur Aglionby (Indian Mutiny 1857, Abyssinian campaign 1867);—Lieutenant-Colonel Julian Wakefield, formerly of the 83rd Regiment (now the Irish Rifles);—Surgeon-Major R. E. Wrafter (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny); J. A. Cope, Indian Medical Service;—Clement Edward Crawford, l.c.s., District Magistrate and Collector, Cawnpore;—Colonel Richard Henry Beddome, F.L.S., of the Madras Staff Corps;—Right Hon. Michael Finucane, late Indian Civil Service;—Colonel W. J. Pickouce, late Indian Staff Corps;—Major Willie Alexander Scotland Kincaid, r.e. (Tirah 1897-99);—Walter Nisbet, late Indian Civil Service;

John James Livesay, late Bengal Civil Service;—Major S. Watson (Afghan war 1879);—Colonel Francis Onslow Barrington Foote (Afghanistan 1880, Egyptian campaign 1882);—Lieutenant-General Sir Lewis Dening, D.S.O., of the Indian Army (Afghanistan 1878-79, Burmese expedition 1886-88, Dongola expedition 1896, North-West Frontier 1897-98, Waziristan expedition 1902);—General Sir Frederick Charles Arthur Stephenson, Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and Constable of the Tower of London (Crimea, Soudan 1885-86);—Major-General Henry Reginald Courtenay (Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, Sobraon, Chillianwalla, Ramnuggur, and Goojerat);—Colonel John Pennycuick (Abyssinian campaign 1868), for thirty-four years in the Madras Public Works Department;—Colonel J. H. Blackley (Afghan war 1878);—Major George Bent (Hazara expedition 1888);—John Siwe, C.I.E., late Director of Public Instruction and Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government;—Lieutenant Colonel S. D. Turnbull, of the Retired List, Indian Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80, Akha expedition 1883-84, Hazara expedition 1888).

March 15, 1911.

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